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THE
ORATIONS
OF
ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES
ON
THE CROWN.

Æschines

THE

ORATIONS

OF

ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES

ON

THE CROWN.

WITH

MODERN GREEK PROLEGOMENA, AND ENGLISH NOTES,

BY

ALEXANDER NEGRIS.

BOSTON:

HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE, AND WILKINS.

1829.



PA 3823
A13
1829

ΑΙΨΧΙΨΝΟΥ

Ο ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΨΝΤΟΣ

ΔΟΓΟΣ.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΨΝΟΥΨ

ΤΨΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΨΝΤΟΣ, ΨΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΨΤΕΦΑΨΝΟΥ

ΔΟΓΟΣ.

Ψν ΓραικικοΨ Προλεγομένοιο, καΨ ΨγγλικοΨ Ψημειώοειο,

Ψπο

ΨΑΛΕΞΑΨΝΔΡΟΥ ΝΕΓΡΗ.

ΤΨ δΨ, εΨ αΨτοΨ τοΨ Ψηρίοιο ταΨτΨ ρήματα βοΨντοο ακηκόοιοι ;

ΨΕν ΒοοτΨνγη .

Παρά Ψηλιάρδοο, ΓραιΨ, ΑιτυΨω, καΨ ΟΨιλκΨνοο.

ΑΩΚΘΨ

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

Be it remembered, that on the twenty-fourth day of March, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors in the words following, *to wit* :—

“ Δισχίνου ὁ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος Λόγος. Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ἢ, περὶ Στεφάνου Λόγος. Σὺν Γραικικοῖς Πρωλεγομένοις, καὶ Ἀγγλικαῖς Σημειώσεσιν, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέγρη.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;” and also to an act, entitled, “An act supplementary to an act, entitled, ‘An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;’ and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

Ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας
Μετκάλφου καὶ συντροφίας,
τυπογράφων τοῦ ἐν Κανταβριγία Πανδιδασκηρίου.

ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ.

Ἄν τις ἀπὸ τὸ φαινόμενον κρίνη τοὺς παρόντας λόγους, πιθανὸν κατὰ πρώτην προσβολὴν νὰ στοχασθῆι συμφέροντα μόνον ἰδιαιτέρων ὑποκειμένων ὅτι περιέχουσιν· εὐρεῖν ὅμως θέλει προχωρῶν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωθιν ὅτι πρὸς τούτοις ἐναγκαλίζονται τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης ἐνὸς μεγάλου μέρους τὴν ἱστορίαν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπαντήσιν εἰς κάθε βῆμα. Ὁ πρῶτος ἀπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς δύο μονάρχας, εἰκοσιτέσσαρας εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς, καθ' ὃ διάστημα συχνοὺς ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μακροὺς πολέμους, κάρων ἀενάως καὶ μὴ φυλάτιων ποτὲ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ μὴ ὅσον εἰς τοὺς φιλοδόξους αὐτοῦ σκοποὺς τῷ ἦσαν χρήσιμοι, τὸ κατὰ τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποδιδόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἀκολουθῶν ἀπόφθεγμα, Δεῖ τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἐξάπαταῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τοῖς ὄρκοις. Ἡ τῶν ὀπλων τύχη ποτὲ μὲν εὐνοϊκῆ, καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἐναντία, σχεδὸν ἰσοδόξους μεταξὺ τῶν ἀντιμαχομένων ἐκράτησε τὰς πλάστιγγας μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, ἣτις καθυπέβαλεν ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ὅπου τριακοντακισχίλιοι Μακεδόνες κατώρθωσαν, τὸ ματαίως εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς, εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, δοκιμασθὲν ἀπὸ ἑκατοντακισμυρίους Πέρσας. Ὀλίγον μετὰ τὰ Χαιρωνικά, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐφόβισαν καὶ κατεβύθισαν ἐν ταύτῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰς βαθύτατον πένθος· τέσσαρας ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸ τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἢ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος εἰς ἤχθη γραφῆ, κριθεῖσα μετὰ δεκαετῆ παρελεύσειν ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος, τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα ὑπῆρξε γόνιμον ἀπὸ μεγάλης μεταβολῆς, αἱ ὁποῖαι τόσον ἐγγυτάτας μὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἔχουσι σχέσεις, ὡς ἂν ἀμοιβαίως ὁ τε κατήγορος καὶ ὁ ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν τὰς μεταχειρίζονται. Ἀπαραίτητον λοιπὸν μοι φαίνεται πρὸς

κατάληψιν τῶν δύο λόγων, νὰ δώσω μίαν γενικὴν ἰδέαν τῶν πολ-
λάκις ἀναφερομένων ἀξιωματικῶν ἐκείνων συμβάντων· ὡς, Αἰ
Θῆβαι ἀναρπασθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τὸ μέσον τῆς Ἑλλάδος·
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπειλημένος εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ
μέλλων νὰ συμπατηθῆ ἀπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν ἵππον·
καὶ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς διαγωνιζόμενος περὶ
τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας. Ἄν καὶ σύντομος ἢ διή-
γησίς μου θέλει μ' ὅλον τοῦτο χρησιμεύσει μεγάλα εἰς τὸν ἀνα-
γνώστην, βάζουσά τον εἰς θέσιν ἀφ' ἧς θέλει διακρίνει τὸν τόπον
καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ βοηθοῦσά τον νὰ τοποθετήσῃ
κατὰ τὴν χρονολογικὴν των αὐτὰ σειρὰν, ἀμελουμένην καὶ μὴθ' ὑπο-
σημαιομένην ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο ἀντιδίκους, ὡς ἄχρηστον εἰς ἀκροατὰς
συγχρόνους καὶ οἰκίους τῶν γενομένων.

Νικητῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ τροπαιοῦχος, ἠτοιμάζετο νὰ ἐστρα-
τεύσῃ κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Φίλιππος, ὅταν ἢ τυραννοκτόνος τοῦ Παν-
σανίου χεῖρ τὸν ἐσταμάτησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαμπροῦ του σταδίου εἰς-
οδον. Ὁ διάδοχός του Ἀλέξανδρος εἰκοσαετῆς παρέλαβε τὴν πάτριον
βασίλειαν, καὶ δὲν ἐβράδυνεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκείνους νὰ εὐγάλη,
ὅσοι κατεφρόνουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ νεαρόν τῆς ἡλικίας του, ὧν εἰς ἣν
καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅστις τὸν ἀπειλάει παῖδα καὶ μαργίτην· πλὴν
αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς τῷ ἀπήγγειλεν, ὅτι μειράκιον ἔγινε περὶ Θετταλίαν, καὶ
πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνῆλθ' εὐχαιρῶν. Ἄλλην μ' ὅλον
τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ἐκροήν. ὁ κατὰ τοὺς μεγαλαύχους αὐτοὺς λόγους ἐπαπει-
λῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας χεῖμαφόρος· ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτρεψεν ἀλλαχόσε τὰ
βλέμματά του, καὶ διὰ πολλῆς λιμπροτέρας ἀνδραγαθημάτων ἐδοξά-
σθη. Συγκαλέσας ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ
πατρὸς του, κίμνει καὶ τὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν ἠγεμόνα των ἐπὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας· ἢ Λακεδαιμόνων εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν περίστασιν ἠναντιώθη μόνη,
λέγουσα ὅτι δὲν ἦτον εἰς αὐτὴν πατροπαράδοτον τὸ νὰ ἀκολουθῆ
τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ νὰ, τὸ νὰ ἐξηγῆται τῶν ἄλλων· ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι νὰ τὸν ἰδῶσι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν των, ὑπέϊξαν ἄν καὶ παρὰ
γνώμην, καὶ τῷ ἀπέπειμον μεγαλητέρας ἀπὸ τὰς προλαβόντως εἰς τὸν
Φίλιππον δοθείσας τιμὰς. Πολεμικαὶ παρασκευαὶ πρὸς τοὺς σκο-
ποὺς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦσαν ἀπαραίτητοι, καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν
ἐπανέρχεται διὰ νὰ τὰς ἐπιταχύνῃ· ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῳ μανθάνων ὅτι
νεωτερίζουν ἐθέλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνοὶ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκτρα-
πέει, τοὺς κτυπᾷ, καὶ τοὺς παιδεύει· διαβαίνει μετέπειτα τὸν Ἰσθμὸν

ἄνευ γεφύρης εἰς μίαν νύκτα, τρέπει τοὺς Γέτας εἰς φυγήν, οἷς ἡ τόλμη του τόσον φαίνεται παράδοξος, ὥστε μίτε τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐχθρικὴν ἐμβολὴν δέχονται· καθυποβάλλει διάφορ' ἄλλα βάρβαρα ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ πανικοῦ ὄν εἰς ἀντὶ τοῦνομά του ἐμπνέει φόβου, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν νικηφόρων αὐτοῦ ὄπλων· καὶ μ' ὅλας τὰς τῶν πρέσβεῶν των ἀλαζονικὰς ἀποκρίσεις, τὰ κάμνει νὰ γνωρίσωσιν ἕνα κίνδυνον πολὺ πλησιέστερον τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων πτώσεως.

Ἡ ἀπουσία τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μία ψευδὴς φήμη τοῦ θανάτου του, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐγείρουσι τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων θάρρος, ὥστε συλλαβόντες ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας τοὺς ἀρχηγούς τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φρουρᾶς, Ἀμύνταν καὶ Τιμόλοον, οἵτινες δὲν εἶχον τὴν παραμικροτέραν ὑποψίαν, τοὺς φονεύουσι, καὶ προσκαθίζονται εἰς τὴν ἄκρην, ἀποτειχίσαντές τὴν μὲ διπλοῦν χάρακα, καὶ ἀναμένοντες τὴν παράδοσίν της. Τοιοῦτον τόλμημα δὲν ἔμεινε πολὺν καιρὸν ἀτιμώρητον· εἰς τὴν ἄφισιν τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, ὅστις μὲ ὑπερβολικὴν ἐπήλθε ταχύτητα, τὰ ἰδιά των αὐτοὶ δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ πιστεύσωσιν ὄμματα· καὶ τόσο ἀποτυφλοῦνται, ὥστε προτρεπόμενοι ἀπὸ τινος τῶν Βοιωτάρχων, καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι συγγνώμην νὰ εὐρωσι δὲν ἠλπίζον ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἀμελοῦσι νὰ ὠφελήθωσι τοῦ καιροῦ τὸν ὁποῖον τοῖς δίδει πρὸς μετάνοιαν. Μετὰ τριήμερον πολιορκίαν ἡ πόλις των ἐκ προσβολῆς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πίπτει τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ὅστις τὴν ἀφανίζει κατὰ κράτος, ἑξακιςχιλίους τῶν κατοίκων σφάττει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τριςμυρίους ἑξανδραποδίζειται, καὶ ἐναντίον τῆς φυσικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικειᾶς, ἣν ἀκριβῶς σχεδὸν ἠεροῦσθη καθ' ὅλον τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἐκτεταμένων του κατακτήσεων, ὡμῶς προσφέρεται, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπει σκληρότητας ἀναγκαίας διὰ νὰ χαλιναγωγῆσιν τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐκολωτέως Ἑλληνας. Αὐτὴ δὲν ἔλειπεν ἡ πολιτικὴ νὰ κάμῃ τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἶχε κατὰ νοῦν ἀποτέλεσμα· πρεσβεῖαι πανταχόθεν ἐπέμποντο ζητοῦσαι τὴν ὑπεράσπισίν του· αἱ τῆς Αἰτωλίας πόλεις ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο ποῖα νὰ ὑποταχθῆ πρώτη, συγγνώμην αἰτοῦσαι τοῦ παρασχεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπανάστασιν τὰ ἄτα· καὶ αὐτοὶ παρακινήθέντες ἀπὸ τὸν Δημάδην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχάρησαν διὰ τὰς λαμπρὰς νίκας τὸν νέον βασιλέα, λόγων ἀφειδούντες, εἰς οὓς ἡ καρδία των τὸ παραμικρότερον νὰ λάβῃ μέρος δὲν ἠδύνατο. Ὁ ἠγεμὼν εὐνοϊκῶς μὲν τὴν πρεσβείαν δέχεται, στέλλει ὅμως ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ταῦτι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ζητῶν νὰ

τῷ παραδοθῶσιν, ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὁ Λυκούργος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ἐπερίδης, ὁ Πολύενκος, ὁ Χάρις, ὁ Ἐφιάλτης, ὁ Μοιροκλῆς, ὁ Δήμων, ὁ Καλλισθένης, καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ Χαριδῆμος, ὡς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ μάχης, καὶ τῆς τελευταίας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπαναστάσεως. Δευτέρα πρεσβεία πέμπεται παρακαλοῦσα τὴν συγχώρησιν τῶν ζητουμένων, οὔτινες καὶ τυγχάνουσιν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε διὰ τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναπολειπόμενον ἔτι σέβας του, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ νῦν ποτέμῃ τὰ παραπίπτοντα τὰ ὁποῖα τὸ μέγα του ἐβράδυνον σχέδιον, καὶ μήτ' αἴτιον μήτε πρόφασιν νῦν ἀφήσῃ δυσαρεστήσεως ἠθέλεν ὄθεν καὶ ὑφίεται τοῦ ζητήματός του, μὲ τὴν ἐξορίαν μόνην εὐχαριστοῦμενος τοῦ Χαριδήμου, ὁ ὁποῖος εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κατέφυγε τῶν Περσῶν.

Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤσυχος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐπιζράτειάν του, καὶ χωρὶς ὑποψίαν διὰ καμμίαν γειτνιάζουσαν δύναμιν, εἰτοιμάζεται νῦν ἐπιτελέσῃ τὴν τοῦ περιφήμου μάντεως ξομηναίαν Ἀριστάνδρου, ὅστις, τὸ περὶ Λειβηθρα κυπαρίττινον τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἔξορον φανέν περιχυμένον ἀπὸ ἰδρώτα, τὸ σημεῖον ἐξήγησε λέγων, ὅτι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος θέλει κατορθώσῃν ἀοιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους πράξεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι θὲν ἂν δώσωσι πολὺν ἰδρῶτα καὶ πόνον εἰς ὑμνοῦντας ποιητὰς καὶ μουσικούς. Ὁλοκλήρως λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκστρατείαν προσκολλᾶται τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐπιτροπὸν του τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀποδεικνύει, καὶ ὡς ἔφθασεν ἠ ἀνοιξίς, καὶ εὐθέϊαν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πορεύεται· καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπισκέπτεται τοὺς τάφους τοῦ Αἴαντος, τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων, οὓς προαιρεῖται νῦν ὑπερβάλλῃ τέλος εἰς τὰς ὄχθας ἀφικνεῖται τοῦ Γρανικοῦ. Οἱ σαυράπαι νῦν τῷ ἀμφισβητήσωσιν ἀποφασισμένοι τὸ πέρασμα τὸν προσέμενον ἀπὸ τῶντικρὺ μέρος Μέμων, ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὦν ἡγεμὸν τῆς παραλλας ἀπὸ τὸν Δαρεῖον, τοῖς συνεβούλευε νῦν μὴ ξυφοκινδυνεύσωσι μάχην, ἀλλὰ καταπατοῦντες μὲ τὴν ἵππον νῦν ἀφανίσωσιν ὅλον τὸν χιλὸν, νῦν αὐτῶσιν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ καρπούς, μήτε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδόμενοι, καὶ οὕτω λιμαγχήσαντες νῦν ἀναγκάσωσι τοῦχθρικὸν στράτευμα νῦν ἀναποδίῃ. Τὰ μῖα παρομοίαις συμβουλῆς ἀποβάντα, δοθείσης καὶ ἐκτελεσθείσης ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, κάμνει νῦν στοχασθῶμεν ὅτι δὲν ἠθέλεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πολὺ νῦν προχωρήσῃ δυνηθῆν, ἂν ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλήσποντον Φρυγίας ὑπαρχος Ἀρσίτης, δὲν εἶχεν ἐναντιωθῆν εἰς τὸν Μέμωνα, λέγων ὅτι δὲν θέλει ποτε συγχωρήσει τὸ νῦν καὶ μήτε μίαν μόνον οἰκίαν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν του ἀνθρώπων. Αὐτὴ ἡ γνώμη τὴν

φρόνιμον ὑπερίσχυσε συμβουλὴν τοῦ ξένου, ὃν ὑπαπτεύοντο πρὸς μεγάλην των οἱ Πέρσαι βλάβην, ὅτι νὰ μηκύνῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ θείεν, ἐπὶ σκοπῷ τοῦ νὰ παρασχῇ μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἑαυτὸν του. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ ὅλον τοῦτο χωρὶς νὰκούσῃ τὸν Παρμενίωνα, ὃς τῷ παρασταίνει τὸν κίνδυνον εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἢ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ διάβασις ἔμπροσθεν πολυπληθεστέρου στρατεύματος τὸν ἐκτίθησι, τοῦπιχειρίζεται διὰ μυρίων ἀνυπερβλήτων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον δυσκολιῶν, καταβάλλει καὶ διασκορπίζει τὸ Περσικὸν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἱππικόν, ὃ περιεχείλωνε τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐπανακάμπτει ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τὸ πεζικόν, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶτ' ἀπ' εὐτολμίαν εἶτ' ἀπ' ἔκπληξιν ἔμενεν ἔμπεδον, τὸ περικυκλόνει, ἐφορμᾷ, τὸ ἀποσφάττει, καὶ πολυτελῆ λάφυρ' ἀφαιρεῖται, ὧν ἓν μέρος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας στέλλει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς μὲ ταύτην ἀνατίθησι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν· Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων. Ἡ φήμη τῆς ἐν Γρανικῷ μάχης, παντοῦ διαδίδει φόβον· ἡ Ζέλεια, αἱ Σάρδεις, ἡ Ἐφεσος, ἀνοίγουσι τὰς θύρας των· ἡ Μίλητος παραδίδεται μετ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἀντίστασιν· ἡ Καρία, ἡ Λυκία, ἡ Παμφυλία, ὑποτάσσονται, καὶ εἰς μεγαλητέρας τὸν δρόμον ἐτοιμάζουσι κατακτήσεις.

Προσωπικῶς ἠθέλησεν ὁ Δαρεῖος τὸ πταῖσμα ἢ μᾶλλον τὴν αὐτοχίαν νὰ διορθώσῃ τῶν τοποτηρητῶν του· ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων πρόδρομος ἀβουλία, τὸν ἀπετύφλωσεν εἰς παραινέσεις αἰτινες εἰς τὸ νὰ τὸν σώσωσιν ἢ τοῦλάχιστον τὸν ἀφανισμόν του νὰ ἀθάλωσιν ἔτεινον· καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις δυστυχίαις ἔχασε τὸν καλῆτερόν του στρατηγόν, τὸν Μέμνονα, τοῦ ὁποίου τοὺς Πέρσας ἀφῆσεν ὁ θάνατος ὡς ἀφροσύητους, καὶ τὴν πτώσιν των ἐτάχυνε. Τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀληθές, ὅτι περισσότερον ἢ ὀλιγώτερον εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἔχει πολλάκις μεγίστην ἔσπην εἰς τὴν τῶν πλέον κολοσσαίων βασιλείων τύχην· ἐξήκοντα συναθροισθεῖσαι μυριάδες ἀπὸ τὸν Δαρεῖον, δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν τὸ χάσιμον ἐνὸς μόνης, τοῦ Μέμνονος, νὰ ἀναπληρώσωσιν. Ἡ πολυπληθὴς αὐτῆ δύναμις, ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα της παραγγελιομένη, μέχρι τῶν τῆς Κιλικίας ὁρίων προβαίνει. Ὅλα πρὸς ὄφελος γυρίζουσι δι' ἐκείνους ὅσοι τὸ προνόμιον ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν αὐτῶν νὰ φθάσωσιν εἰμαρμένην. Ἡ ἀπὸ κινδυνώδη νόσον εἰς Ταρσὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προελθοῦσα διατριβή, παρὰ φρονά τινα ἐμπιστοσύνην εἰς τὸν Πέρσην ἐμπνέει, ὃς εἰς δειλίαν αὐτὴν ἀπέδιδε, καὶ τὰ δύο

στρατεύματ' ἀπὸ μόνον ἔκρινε τὸ μέγεθος. Αἱ τῆς Συρίας πεδιάδες, ὅπου στρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Δαρεῖος, τὴν εὐκολίαν ἀνεμποδίσιως τὸ ἵππικόν του νὰ ἐξαπλώσῃ, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ νὰπολαύσῃ πλεονεκτιημάτων τῷ ἔδιδον, ὅταν ἀπὸ τὴν οἴησίν του καὶ τοὺς κατ' οἶκον ἐχθροὺς, τοὺς κόλικας, ὑπαρχθεῖς, καὶ μὴ ἀκούων τὰς συμβουλὰς τοῦ Ἀμύντου, προάγει πρὸς τὸν Ἰσσοῦν, καὶ ἐμπλέκεται εἰς δυσχωρίας, εἰς ἃς ἀποκαταστάντα τὸ ἵππικόν του καὶ τὰναριθμητὰ του στρατεύματ' ἀνωφελῆ, μᾶλλον τὸν ἐμποδίζουσι παρὰ τὸν χρησιμεύουσιν· εἰς προϋπάντησιν ὑπάγει τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὸν ὁποῖον ἔπρεπε νὰ προσμείνῃ, καὶ βραδίξει ὀφθαλμοφανῶς εἰς τὸν ἀφανισμόν του. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθύς, συγκαλέσας τοὺς τῶν διαφόρων τάξεων ἡγεμόνας τοῖς λέγει, ὅτι ἀπὸ τὰς ἐκτεταμέναις τῆς Συρίας πεδιάδα, ὁ θεὸς διὰ νὰ τοῖς παραδώσῃ τὸν Δαρεῖον τὸν ἔφερον εἰς στενὰ, ὅπου τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἴσια διάστημ' ἠύρισκετο πρὸς ἐξελίγμον τῶν Μακεδονικῶν φαλάγγων, ὅτι θηλυδρίες καὶ μαλθακοὶ Ἀσιανοὶ νὰ πολεμήσωσιν εἶχον μὲ πολεμιστὰς Μακεδόνας, ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἀνδροποδα ἐναντίον ἐλευθέρων, καὶ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐναντίον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἀυτὰ καὶ ἄλλα παρόμοια θάρσος ἐνέπνευσαν ἀπερίγραπτον· καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν εἰς τοὺς παρακλευστικούς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγους, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὅλον ἔκραζεν ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ζητοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρθάρους ἀνυπομόνως νὰ ὀδηγηθῆ. Μόλις εἰς τοὺς σαλπικτὰς παρηγγέλθη νὰ σημάνωσι τὴν ἔφοδον, καὶ οἱ ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι συμμίγνυνται, πεισματώδης ἢ μάχη γίνεται, ἀλληλοδιαδόχως προσκρούουσι καὶ προσκρούονται, πλὴν τέλος πάντων ἐκκλίναντες φεύγουσι προτροπάδην οἱ Βάρβαροι, καὶ ὅλο των τὸ στράτευμα διασκεδασθὲν καὶ συντριφθὲν δεικνύει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς τόλμης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. Ἡ μήτηρ, ἡ γυνή, ἡ ἀδελφὴ, αἱ δύο θυγατέρες, καὶ ὁ νήπιος υἱὸς τοῦ Δαρεῖου, μένουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νικητοῦ· αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Δαρεῖος διὰ μόνης ἀποδιδράσκει τῆς ταχύτητος τοῦ ἵππου του, καὶ μανθάνει δι' αὐτῆς τῆς μάχης νὰ μὴν ἀλαξονεύηται πλέον εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις του· ὅθεν ταπεινωθεὶς ὁ ὑπερήφανος οὗτος, εἰς διαπραγματείας τρέπεται, καὶ παντοιοτρόπως πασχίζει νὰ κερδίσῃ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καρδίαν, προβάλλων μύρια τάλαντα νὰ πληρώσῃ ὡς λύτρα τῶν ἐλωκότων, νὰ παραχωρήσῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου, καὶ δίδων αὐτῷ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων του νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ τοιοῦτον ὑπεροπτικὸν ἀπορρέπει τρόπον κάθε πρόβλημα, ὥστε μόνα τὰ εὐτυχῆ δύνανται νὰ τὸν

δικαιολογήσωσιν ἀποβάντα. Ἡ Κύπρος, ἡ Φοινίκη, παραδίδονται, ἡ Τύρος πίπτει μεθ' ἑπταμηνῆ καὶ ἐπίπονον πολιορκίαν εἰς τὰς χεῖράς του, καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος καθυποβάλλεται.

Οἱ σατράπαι μ' ὅλον τοῦτο συλλέγουσιν ὡς τάχιστα νέους στρατιώτας, καὶ φέρουσιν ἑκατοντακισμυρίους διαφόρων ἐθνῶν ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν Δαρεῖον, ὅς εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν πλησίον τῶν Ἀρβήλων ὑπάγει νὰ στρατοπεδεύσῃ, εἰς μίαν μακρόθεν φαινομένην πεδιάδα, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐφρόντισε νὰ ἐξομαλλῃ, διὰ νὰ δώσῃ περισσοτέραν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἵππων ἐφόδους καὶ ἀναστροφὰς εὐκολίαν, καὶ νὰποφύγῃ τὸ ὁποῖον προὔξενησεν αἴτιον, τῆς ἐν Ἰσσοῦ μάχης τὸ χάσιμον· διότι τὴν πρώτην ἀπέδιδεν ἤσσαν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Κιλικίας. Οἱ πρόδρομοι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲν ἤρρησαν νὰ τὸν εἰδοποιήσωσι περὶ τοῦ διατρέχοντος· ὅθεν καὶ προχωρεῖ, κύριον νὰ ἰδῇ τὸν ἑαυτὸν τς ἀνυπόμονος τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ λαμβάνει θέσιν ὀλίγον μακρὰν τοῦ ἐχθρικοῦ στρατοπέδου. Ἐκατέρωσε παρατηροῦνται πρῶτον ἀμοιβαίως, ἔπειτα κινοῦνται, καὶ τέλος εἰς χεῖρας ἔρχονται. Τοῦ παρελθόντος ἡ ἐνθύμησις, καὶ ἦν ἐρόπιπεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν Περσῶν φρίκη, σχεδὸν εἶχεν αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῆς μάχης κρατήσει· διὸ καὶ ἡ νίκη, μ' ὅλην τὴν ἀσυμμετρίαν ἣτις δὲν ἐφαίνετο νὰ ἐπιτρέψῃ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἰσορροπίαν, ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἐξυγοσάτησεν· ἡ νομιζομένη δύναμις δὲν ἐβάστασεν ἐναντίον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς τακτικῆς τόλμης, καὶ δὲν ἐχρησίμευσε τὸ πλῆθος παρ' εἰς τὸ νὰ προμηθεύσῃ πλέον ἀφθόνως εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν. Ἀπὸ τοὺς Μακεδόνας πεντακόσιοι μόνον ἐφρονεύθησαν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν νίκην, ἐν ᾧ νὰ κλαύσωσιν εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ χάσιμον ἐννεηκόντα χιλιάδων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς κολοσσαίας καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, ἣτις πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἤδη λάβει τινάγμούς. Ὁ Δαρεῖος σωθεὶς μόνος του καὶ φεύγων διὰ τῶν ὄρεων τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὀλίγας περισσότερον ἡμέρας δυστυχεῖς ἔμελλεν εἰς τὴν συμφορὰν του νὰ ἐπιζήσῃ· αὐτὸς ὁ νικημένος καὶ φυγὰς βασιλεὺς, ὁ ὀνομάζων ἕως τότε τὸν ἑαυτὸν του δεσπότην ὅλων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν μέχρι δυσμῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτοῦ ἐχθροὺς καλούμενος ὁ Μέγας Βασιλεὺς, εἰς τὰς πλέον ἀπομεμακρυσμένας περιεπλανᾶτο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν του, ὅταν ὁ Βῆσσος ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς σατράπας του τὸν ἐφόνησε, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατάρατου τολμήματος, ἀπὸ πλανητικὴν δυστυχῆ καὶ ἄτιμον τὸν ἤλευθέρωσε ζωὴν. Οὕτως ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐτελεύτησε πεντηκοντούτης, λαμπρὸν παράδειγμα τοῦ εὐθραύστου τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μεγαλειῶν.

Αὐτὰ τὰ ἱστορικὰ ἀνάλεκτα, αὐτὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα σύγχρονα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν δύο μας ῥητόρων, τῷ χρησιμεύουσιν ὡς ἐποχή, καὶ κάμνουσιν εὐκατάληπτα πολλὰ πράγματα, τὰ ὅποια τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἕκαστος ἀναφέρει πρὸς ὄφελός του. Ἄλλως τε δὲν ἔλειπον εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην καὶ εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἕριδος ἀφορμαί· ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος ἀντίζηλοι καὶ ἐκ φιλοτιμίας, ἀενάως ἀπήντων ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ἀντετάττοντο· ἀντικειμένων ἀρχηγοὶ στάσεων, εἶχον τοὺς φατριασῆς, τοὺς συμπράκτορας, καὶ τοὺς πελάτας των· ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐσπούδαζον ἀμφοτέρω τιμαῖς, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐθήρουν ἀξιώματα, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἔλαστρον παρεκίνει καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν προσάλληλον νὰ ἐργάζωνται ἀφανισμόν, ἕκαστος πεπεισμένος ὅτ' εἰς μόνον τοῦ ἀντιπάλου του τὰ ἐρείπια σταθερῶς δύναται νὰ κτίσῃ. Ἡ εὐνοια τοῦ δήμου, ἣτις ἀντιτύπως ἐταπείνονε τὸν ἕναν ὅταν ὕψονε τὸν ἄλλον, ἦν τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς εὐγλωτίας, ὅθεν καὶ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀρμὴν ἀμιλλῶνται περὶ τούτου· καὶ ἤξιζε τῶντι τὸν κόπον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὸ τὸ βραβεῖον ἐβασίλευεν εἰς μίαν δημοκρατίαν, ὅπου ἡ ὑπερτάτη δύναμις ὑπῆρχεν εἰς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ὅπου τις περισσοτέραν ἢ ὀλιγωτέραν εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἥττον ὅπου νὰ μεταχειρισθῇ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤξευρε, καὶ νὰ κινήσῃ τὰς καρδίας· κάθε πολίτης ὅστις τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἶχε δεινότητα, ἀπολύτως διώκει πλήθος αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐραστῶν μιᾶς τοῦνομα μόνον ἐχούσης ἀνεξαρτησίας, καὶ τὴν ὅποιαν μ' ὄλον τοῦτ' ἀμέτρως ἐξηλοτύπουν. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔβλεπον, ἤκουον, ἤθελον διὰ τοῦ πλέον εὐγλωττεῖ ῥήτορος, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ὁ ῥήτωρ διανομὴς ἦτο καὶ κύριος παντὸς ἀξιώματος πολεμικοῦ ἢ πολιτικοῦ, ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν θέλησίν του τοὺς ἔκαμνε νὰ πάρωσιν ἢ νὰ φήσω· ἢ τὰ ὅπλα· μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ὁ παρειδυόμενος ἀνθρώπος εἶχε τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ περισύρῃ τὰς γνώμας των, καὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ ἀγαπητοτέρου των πράγματος, θέλω λέγειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀτιμωρήτως νὰ τοὺς ὕστερῃ. Δὲν πρέπει λοιπὸν τις νὰ θαυμάσῃ, πῶς εἰς μίαν ἐπικρατίαν ἔνθ' ἢ ἐπιστήμη τῆς πειθοῦς ἀπελάμβανε τόσον ἡδὺ προνόμιον ἐκαλλιεργεῖτο μὲ τὸσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ὅτι καθεὶς φιλοτιμῶς ἀνήλωκε τὸ πολυτιμότερον τοῦ καιροῦ του, διὰ νὰ τελειοποιηθῇ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὑπερτάτην τέχνην.

Μεταξὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥητόρων, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐγέννησεν ἄλλους ἢ Ἑλλὰς, ὁμοχρόνως ἔλαμψαν ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ὁ ἀνταγωνιστὴς του Αἰσχίνης· τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολικῆς

των ζηλοτυπίας μῖσος, ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἐξώργισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· σήμερον εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν πρέπει τις νὰ τοὺς ἐνώσῃ, διότι, χωρὶς ἐκατέρους νὰκούσῃ, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀξιους ἀκροάσεως, δὲν ἐμπορεῖ νὰ τοὺς κρίνῃ. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης, εὐρυθυμὸς, γλυκὺς, ἀνθηρὸς, διαφεύγει, προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ διαλύει δεξιῶς τὰς ἐχθρικὰς ὑποφορὰς, ἠδύνει τὰς ἐκφράσεις του μὲ ὅλας τῆς καλλιπειίας καὶ τῆς ἐπικοσμῆσεως τὰς χάριτας, ἐγείρει καὶ κινεῖ πολλάκις τοὺς ἀκροατὰς· πλὴν μία δύναμις ἀνωτέρα, μία βροντώδης δεινότης, καταβάλλει κἀποκαθίστησιν ὡς ἔμπληκτον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ὅλους. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης διαγράφει λεπτοργῶς, ἐνηδύνει τὰς ἀκοάς, καὶ πληρεξουσίως πῶς εἰς ὅσων ἄπαξ φθάσει νὰ εἰσχωρέσῃ τὰς καρδίας περιέρεχεται· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἂν καὶ ὀλιγώτερον εἰς τὰ ὦτα, βαθυτέρας ὁμως εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγχαράττει, καὶ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν διαπεράσει, αὐτογνωμόνως δεσπόζει. Πρὸς τοῦτοις ὁ Αἰσχίνης ἕπιει πανταχόθεν σπινθήρας· ἐν ᾧ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀκτινοβολεῖ. Ὅταν ἀκούω τὸν Αἰσχίνην εὐχέρας νὰναβάλω τὴν κρίσιν μου δὲν ἐμποροῦ, καὶ σχεδὸν καταδικάζω τὸν Δημοσθένην μῆτε νὰ τὸν ἀκούσω θέλων· πλὴν μόλις τὸν ἤκουσα, καὶ τὸν εὐρίσκω ἀθῶον, τὸν θαυμάζω· τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτὸς διαλύει, κάθε δυσκολίαν ἀπλῶς ἀποκόπτει, ἐκ θεμελίων ὅλας τὰς λεπτολογίας ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ σοφίσματα ἀναιρεῖ, ὡς θ' ὡς νέφος ἀφανίζεται τὸ ψεῦδος, διαφανὲς ἀπὸ ζωηροτάτας γινόμενον διαυγείας. Ἀμφότεροι μ' ὅλον τοῦτο βροντῶσιν, ἂν καὶ μᾶνισον σφοδρότητα· μῆτε λοιπὸν ὁ Δημοσθένης πλέον ἄξιον ἀντίπαλον ἠδύνατο νᾶχῃ, μῆθ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης πλέον ἄξιον νικητὴν. Ἄς μὴ συμβουλευθῶμεν περὶ τῆς προσωπικῆς αὐτῶν ἀξίας τοὺς ἰδίους· ἐπὶ ταῦτοῦ σεμνοὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ, ἀμοιβαίως ὅτι δὲν εἶν' εὐγλωττοὶ διῶσχυρίζονται, καθεὶς ὀνομάζων τὸν ἀντίδικόν του, πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων, δεινὸν δημιουργὸν λόγων, μάγον, γόητα, καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος ὁ ἴδιος, ἀπλοῦς, εἰλικρινὴς, ἀληθής. Εἰς ἓν μόνον πρᾶγμα δὲν ἐμπορεῖ τις εὐκόλως νὰ κρίνῃ ποῖος ὑπερβάλλει τὸν ἄλλον, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλευθερία των εἰς τὸ νὰ ὑβρίζωνται, καὶ νὰ μὴ μετριάξωσι τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐνὸς ἀκατασχέτου θυμοῦ· φιλοτίμως ὁ εἷς καλεῖ τὸν ἄλλον, συκοφάντην, προδότην, μαγὸν, ἀνόσιον, καὶ μὲ ἀμοιβαίαν ἀπέχθειαν ἐξαντλοῦσι τὰς ὑβριστικωτέρας λοιδορίας· τὰς προάγουσιν ἀναμφιβόλως πολλὰ μακρὰν, ἅς στοχασθῶμεν μ' ὅλον τοῦτο, πῶς εἰς μίαν δίκην πολλοῦ δι' αὐτοὺς ἄξιαν, νὰ καταπέσωσιν εἶχον λαὸν, καὶ μὲν ἀγγίνουν, ὁμως πάντα λαὸν, ὅθεν ὁ καταφατικὸς

τόνος καὶ ὁ θαρσάλεις τρόπος ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἵτινες δὲν τολμῶσι σχεδὸν νὰ ὑποπτευθῶσιν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὅστις ἐντόνως ὁμιλεῖ, καὶ ἐκφέρεται, δύναται νὰ ἔχη ἄδικον· ἢ τοῦ ἀθώου δειλία, πολλάκις ὡς ἡμίσεια τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ὁμολογία ὑποτίθεται, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ πταίστου προπετὲς, ἐντελής ἀθωότητος ἀπόδειξις νομίζεται.

Πρὸς τούτοις ἤθελέ τις εἰπεῖν ὅτι διὰ νὰ καταστήσῃ τοὺς δύο ῥήτορας αὐτοὺς ἢ φύσις εἰς μεγαλητέραν ἔχθραν, τοὺς ἔκαμεν ὅλως ἀνομοίους· διότι καθὼς ἢ τῶν διαθέσεων ἀναλογία μᾶς συνάπτει διὰ δεσμῶν ἀόπτων, οὕτως ἢ διαφορά τῶν κλίσεων δι' ἀοράτων μᾶς χωρίζει φραγμῶν. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης, χαρίεις, γλυκύθυμος, εὐδιάθετος, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐφήμερος, φιλήδονος, εὐπροσήγορος, πολὺ νὰ συμφωνήσῃ δὲν ἠδύνατο μὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην, σοβαρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, ἀγαπῶντα τὴν μοναξίαν, φιλόπονον, αὐστηρὸν, βαρύθυμον, ἀνίκανον εἰς οὐδὲν νὰ ἐνδώσῃ, πάντοτε πρὸς τὰς καταχορήσεις ἔτοιμον νᾶντιτείνῃ, καὶ μὲ δριμύτι ζυμωμένον τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποκρούει καὶ ἀπομακρύνει. Ἡ ἀντιπάθειά των, πηγὴ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν Φίλοξρατον, πολὺν καιρὸν μ' ὅλον τῆτο νὰ ζῶσιν εἰς ἀρκετὰ καλῆν ἀρμονίαν τὲς ἄφησε· καὶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέσπασε τοπρῶτον ἢ ἔχθρα των, ὅταν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν συμπρέσβεις, ἕκαστος τοῦ καλῶς βασιλεύειν ξεχωριστὴν ἠθέλησε μέθοδον εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ περιγράψῃ. Μετὰ τὴν τῆς πρεσβείας ἐπιστροφὴν, ὅπου δὲν ἐλαμπρύνθη ὁ Δημοσθένης ἴσως ὅσον ἐπεθύμει, μὲ τὸν φίλον του συμφωνεῖ Τίμαρχον (διότι καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες ἔχουσι τὰς μικροπρεπείας των), ὡς εἰς τὸ τῆ πρέσβειος ἀξίωμα παρανομήσαντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην νὰ κατηγορήσῃ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐπιτυγχάνει πάντοτ' εἰς τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἢ ἀπολογία, χωρὶς ὁ Αἰσχίνης νὰ προσμένῃ τὴν προσβολὴν, ἐν ἀντιπερίσπασμα δοκιμάζει· ὑπὸ κρίσιν νὰ βάλῃ τὸν Τίμαρχον σπεύδει, ὡς ἔνοχον τῶν ἀρῆρητοτέρων προαγωγειῶν, αἵτινες κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὸν ἀπέκλειον τοῦ βήματος, καὶ κατορθώνει νὰ τὸν ἐλέγξῃ. Μερικοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους, ὁ Κτησιφῶν προβάλλει ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ μὲ χρυσῶν ἔμιλλε σέφανον ὁ Δημοσθένης νὰ σεφανωθῇ· βραβεῖον μᾶλλον τιμὴν παρὰ κέρδος φέρον, καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς ἐκείνους ἐδίδοτο τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοι μεγάλας εἶχον ἐκδουλεύσεις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κάμει. Τοιοῦτον πρόβλημα δὲν ἔλειπεν ἐκ νέου τὸ μῖσος νᾶνάψῃ τοῦ Αἰσχίνου· κατηγορεῖ λοιπὸν τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὡς παραβάτην τῶν νόμων, οἵτινες ἀπαγορεύουσι τὸ νὰ στεφανῶται ἄρχων ὑπεύθυνος, καὶ τὸ μείζον, πολίτης ὅς ὄχι μόνον δὲν ἔκαμεν ἐκδουλεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πατρί-

δα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐβύθισεν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας δυστυχίας. Τὸ ὡς ἐξ ἀντιπέμφεως πρὸς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀποτεινόμενον κτύπημα καιρίως τὸν ἤγγιζεν· ὅθεν τόσον τὸ συμφέρον ὅσον καὶ ἡ εὐγνωμοσύνη ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸν Κτησιφῶντα συνήγορον, ὁ ὁποῖος μῆτε νᾶνοῖξῃ τὸ στόμα τὸν ἄφησεν· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ ἐναγκαλιζόμενος ἄγωνά καθ' αὐτὸ ἰδικόν τε, δικαιολογεῖ συγχρόνως τὸν ἑαυτὸν του καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην του.

Τὸ ὑπὲρ καὶ κατὰ τῶν δύο μας ῥητόρων σκεπτέον εἰς τὰς δικαιολογίας κατὰ τὸ παρόν. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης ὑβρίζει, καὶ μὲ πολλὴν ἐλευθεροστομίαν κατηγορεῖ, πρῶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐν γένει δὲν ἀπαρέσκει· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπαινεῖται καὶ καυχᾶται, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγανάκτησιν τινα διεγείρει. Ὁ διώκων ἔχει τὴν φιλοκατήγορον ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος του φύσιν μας· ὁ φεύγων, τὸ πολὺ πολὺ τὸν οἰκτόν μας. Ἡ θέσις των δὲν εἶναι παντάπασιν ὁμοία. Ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν δικανικὴν τάξιν ὁ Αἰσχίνης ἀρχίζων πρῶτος νὰ ὁμιλῇ, τῆς προσοχῆς ἀπολαύει ἀκροατῶν ἀκμήτων, τοποθετεῖ κατ' ἀρέσκειαν, ἀκωλύτως ἀντιδιαπλέκει καὶ συγχέει τὴν τῆς διηγήσεως σειρὰν, καὶ προλαμβάνων τὰς ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ὑποφορὰς, ἐγκρατῆς γίνεται τῆς τῶν δικαστῶν γνώμης, καὶ τοὺς προδιατίθησιν εἰς τρόπον ὥστε νὰ μὴ θέλωσι κανὲν εἶδος ἀπολογίας νᾶκούσωσιν. Ὅθεν εἶναι μεγάλη τέχνη, καὶ τέχνη ὠφελιμωτάτη, εἰς ὁποῖον ἐξέρχεται νὰ τὴν μεταχειρισθῆ, τὸ νὰ ἐμπνεύσῃ τὰς πρώτας ἰδέας· ἡ ἀπόκρισις τὰς εὐρίσκει θεμελιωμένας, καὶ μὲ δυσκολίαν ὄχι ὀλίγην κατορθώνει νὰ τὰς κρημνίσῃ καὶ νὰ τὰς ἀποβάλλῃ, ἢ μᾶλλον δὲν τὰς ἀποβάλλει παντελῶς. Ἐμβρογμένη ἅπαξ ἀπὸ τὴν πρόληψιν ἢ κοινῇ γνώμῃ περιχαρακόνεται, καὶ μαχομένη καρτερωῶς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον νικᾷ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν της νὰ τὴν εὐγάλλῃ πασχίζοντα· δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κερδίζει τις πάντοτε προκαταλαμβάνων καὶ τὰς καλητέρας ἀναιρῶν ἀντιλογίας· διότι ὅστις τὰς παρασταίνει πρῶτος, τὰς γυρίζει κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον του, καὶ ἂν δὲν τῶν ἀφαιρῇ τι μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, τοῦλάχιστον τὴν χάριν τὰς κάμνει νὰ χάσῃ τῆς καινότητος, ἣτις μεγάλως εἰς τὸν χυδαῖον ἰσχύει λαόν. Πλὴν ὡσαύτως ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ὁ Δημοσθένης, μ' ὅλον ὅτι εἰς καθεστηκότας ἦν ἤδη πρόληψις ἀναγκασμένος νὰ προσβάλλῃ, καὶ μιᾶς ἐκκενωθείσης προσοχῆς τὰ λείψανα νὰ συλλέξῃ, ὁμιλήσεν ὁ τελευταῖος· εἶδος πλεονεκτικῆματος τὸ ὁποῖον διὰ νὰ μὴν εἶπω τίποτε περισσότερον, ἀντισταθμίζει καλῶς ὅλα τὰλλα· ἢ νέα

εἰκὼν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἀκροατῶν ὑποσκελίζει πάντοτε τὴν παλαιάν, καὶ ἡ τελευταία τὸ προνόμιον ἐξόχως ἔχει, εἰς τὴν ἐνθύμησίν των ἐγκεχαραγμένη μόνη νὰ μένη. Κοινὸν εἰς τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάττωμα, τὸ εἶχον εἰς τὸν ἕσχατον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι βαθμὸν, καθὼς ὁ ἴδιος Δημοσθένης μᾶς τὸ διδάσκει, λέγων εἰς τὸν πρῶτον Ὀλυνθιακόν· Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ', ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς, οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθε, ἄν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῆ. Τὸ πρὸ πάντων ὅμως βλάπτον τὸν Αἰσχίνην εἶναι, πῶς ὅλοι ἐξεύρουσιν ὅτι ζητεῖ νὰ πατήσῃ, καὶ συκοφαντῆ, κατηγορῶν τὸν Δημοσθένην ὡς φιλιππίζοντα· ὡςτ' ἔμπροσθεν ἀδεκάστῶν κριτῶν, αὐτὴ ταύτη συνηγορεῖ διὰ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἢ ἀλήθεια. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης εἰς περιέργους ῥητορικὰς ἀντιθέσεις ζυγοσταθμεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα· καθὲν ἐπιπολαίως ἀπὸ αὐτὰ περιτρέχει· βιάζει πολλάκις πάρεργα· κάμνει χρῆσιν ῥητορικῶν τόπων, τοὺς ὁποίους τρέπει πρὸς ὄφελός του· καὶ μὲ ὅσην τις ἐπιτηδειότητα νὰ φαντασθῆ δύναται, μερικὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντὶ τοῦ νὰ δώσῃ λόγον, μὲ τὴν τῶν φράσεών του γλυκύτητα θέλγων τὰς ἀκοῆς, παρεیزγει πιθανότητας, καὶ παρεμβάλλει συλλογισμοὺς ἀληθεῖς κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον. Ὁ Δημοσθένης τούναντίον ποτὲ δὲν ἀφίνει τὸ κεφάλαιον· ἀφ' ὅλα τὸ γυρίζει τὰ μέρη, χωρὶς νὰ πομακρονθῆ τὸ παραμικρότερον· ἀποδείξεις ἀναφέρει σαφεῖς, ἰσχυρὰς, ἀποδεικτικὰς· τίθησιν ἀρχὰς προδήλους· καὶ τραβῶν ἀναντιρῶντα συμπεράσματα, καταβάλλει τέλος πάντων διὰ τῆς ἐναργείας. Ὡσαύτως ὁ Δημοσθένης μᾶλλον ἐπαιρόμενος παρὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς εὐκαιρίας, ἣτις τὸν ἀπαλάττει τῆς μετριοφροσύνης, καὶ δεσποτικῶς ἀπ' αὐτὸν λεπτομερῆ τῶν ἠθικῶν του ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν του κατορθωμάτων διήγησιν ἀπαιτεῖ· καὶ χωρὶς νὰ λανθασθῆ μὴτ' εἰς μίαν μόνην λέξιν ἣτις ἐλάσσωσιν φαίνεται τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν ἀνεπικλήτου συνειδότος μαρτυριῶν, δικαιολογεῖται μὲ τὴν τόλμην ἐνὸς κατηγοροῦ, δὲν ἀπολογεῖται μὴθ' ὡς ἱκετεύων μὴθ' ὡς ἔνοχος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄλλος τις Σωκράτης, ὡς κύριος καὶ ἐξουσιαστής τῶν κριτῶν του, προστάτιων τόσους κανόνας καὶ νόμους, ὅσας ἀποδείξεις καὶ λόγους ἐκθέτει· καὶ μετὰ τόνου προσήκοντος εἰς τὴν ἀθωότητα, μὲ ὑπέροχον ἐνωμένην ἀξιοότητα, φαίνεται ὡς νὰ λέγῃ· Κανεῖς ἐν ἀρετῷ δὲν θέλει τὸν φθόνον ἀποφύγει καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν!

ΑΓΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ

‘Ο ΚΑΤΑ’

ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝ ἔγραψε ψήφισμα, “Στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανίαι χρεσῶ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ Διονυσίους τραγῳδῶν, ὅτι διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα λέγων καὶ πράττων τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.” Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράψατο Αἰσχίνης παρανόμων, καὶ εἰσάγει κεφάλαια γενικὰ τρία· ἓν μὲν, ὅτι ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐστεφάνωσε, τοῦ νόμου κειμένουτος, “μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπεύθυνον ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν,” περὶ οὐσίας· δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ ἀνεκέρυξε τὸν στέφανον, ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου, “μηδὲνα στεφανοῦν ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ,” περὶ ποιότητος· τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, οὐκ εἶναι γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὐδὲ ἄξιον τοῦ στεφάνου· καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ παράνομον ἀνακτεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύων τὰ ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν ταῖς ψηφίσμασιν· ἔστι δὲ περὶ ποιότητος.

Ἵποφοράς δὲ λαμβάνει τρεῖς, πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον δισσῶς ἐρῶντος Δημοσθένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρχων, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομή, ἀλλὰ διακονία τις καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρχή, τῷ γε ἐπιδεδικέαι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ μηδὲν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἦν ὑπεύθυνος· περὶ ποιότητος ἀμφοτέρα. Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο Αἰσχίνης εἰσάγει στοχαστικὸν κεφάλαιον, οὐ μέντοι κατασκευάζει· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπίδωκεν, ἀλλ’ εἶχε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τοῦτο δέκα τάλαντα· περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον κεφάλαιον παρεχομένου Δημοσθένους νόμον ἔτερον, κειμένουτα ἀνακηρύττειν ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ, ἂν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, Αἰσχίνης οὐ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι φησιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων· περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τρίτον πολλὰ κατὰ μέρος.

Οἶεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς διηρηκέναι τὴν ἀπολογία, τὰ πράγματα καθέκαστα εἰς τούτους μερίσαντα. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φησιν εἶναι καιρὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρώτου τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γενομένου, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἥττης, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολιτευμάτων. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ αἴτιον αὐτὸν φησὶ γιγνέναι τῆς εἰρήνης,

αΐσχυρῶς οὔσης καὶ ἀδόξου, καὶ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρεῖου τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον αὐτὸς παρεσκευάσεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν περὶ Φωκίας συμβάντων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς ἡττης τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πείσας μετὰ Θεβαίων ἄραμίους τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον παρατάξασθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐπολιτεύσατο. Μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ βίου παντὸς τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κτησιφῶντος ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἐν οἷς ἀξιῶ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐνῆκα δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα Δημοσθένους.

Μέμφονται μάλιστα τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδιέτριψεν ἐν τῷ παρανόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κατηγορεῖ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶναντίον, τούτῳ μάλιστα διίσχυρίζεται, λέγων οὕτως, “Ἔστι δ' ὑπόλοιπον μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ᾗ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶ στεφανοῦσθαι.” Μήποτε δὲ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἐπράξεν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἶχε δόξαν μεγάλην παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ ὑπόληψιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς λαμπρότατα πεπολιτευμένος, εἰκότως ἀήθη ψυχρὸς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους φανήσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν παρανόμων λόγους, εἰ μὴ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσει τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης κακόνους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἐπιμέμπτως πεπολιτεύεται· διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπούδασε περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς κατηγορίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐνδιέτριψε. Μέμφαιτο δ' ἂν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον εἰκόσ.

Ἡ στάσις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἔγγραφος, ὡς περὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου· τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια δηλονότι τῆς πραγματικῆς περιέχει ἀπερὶ καὶ ἐκεῖ, οἷον τὸ νόμιμον τεμνόμενον εἰς τρεῖς νόμους, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον εἰς τέσσαρας καιροῦς. “Ὅρα δὲ, πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ συνηθῶν ἐκβολῆς, ὡς περὶ καὶ Δημοσθένους.

Τινὲς εἶπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει κατασκευὴν τὸ προοίμιον, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ συμπέρασμα δεῖ ζητεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀκατάσκευον, ἐστὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατασκευῆ, “Ἐπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει.” Εἰ γὰρ ἡ αἰτία τῆς προτάσεως ἐστὶν ἡ κατασκευῆ, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ μέτρια μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰ δεήσεις, κατασκευῆ ἂν εἴη. “Ἐχει δὲ καὶ συμπέρασμα. “Ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἦκω” ἕως τοῦ “μείζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων.”

Τῆν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὄρατε, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις, αἷς κέχρηται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἦκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς 5
θεοῖς, δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενος

οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν ἰσχύειν παρ' ὑμῖν μεῖζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεσθηκότων ὀρθῶς

5 διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν ρητόρων εὐκοσμίας, ἰσχύειν, ἵνα ἐξῆ πρότον μὲν τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, σωφρόνως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελθόντι, ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς, ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τὰ

10 βέλτιστα τῇ πόλει συμβουλευεῖν, δεύτερον δ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν βουλούμενον, καθ' ἡλικίαν, χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ ἐκάστου γνώμην ἀποφαινεσθαι (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι, αἱ τε κρίσεις ἐλάχιστα γίνεσθαι).

15 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον ὠμολογημένα καλῶς ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλγεται, καὶ γράφουσί τινες ῥαδίως παρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕτεροί τινες τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐπιψηφίζουσιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαχόντες προεδρεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς

20 καθεζόμενοι, ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὄντως λάχῃ κληρούμενος προεδρεύειν, καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύῃ, τῆτον οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκέτι κοινήν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγελεῖν, καὶ καταδουλούμενοι τοὺς

25 ἰδιώτας καὶ δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς περιποιοῦντες, τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καταλελύκασι, τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ' ὀργῆς κρίνουσι, σεσίγηται τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,

30 "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων." τῆς δὲ τῶν ρητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι

κρατεΐν δύνανται οΰθ' οΐ νόμοι οΰθ' οΐ πρυτάνεις οΰθ' οΐ πρόεδροι οΰθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλῆ, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.

Τούτων δ' ἐχόντων οΰτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὄντων τῆ πόλει τοιούτων, ὁποίους αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας (εἴ τι καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνω γιννώσκων) αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί· εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε, ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. *Εὗ* 10 γὰρ ἴστε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, διοικοῦνται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς 15 κειμένοις. Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι, ὅταν εἰσὶ εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρρησίας· διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον 20 ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὄρκῳ, “Ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,” ἐκεῖνό γε εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι, ὅταν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῆ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία· ἂ χρὴ διαμνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς, μισεῖν τὰς παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι 25 τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ τῶν ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἕαν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων 30 δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ

τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν, ἣν ἂν ταχθῆ ἔν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχύνητε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἣν τέταχθε ὑπὸ
 5 τῶν νόμων, φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Κἀκεῖνο δὲ χρὴ διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν ἅπαντες οἱ πολῖται, παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες, οἱ μὲν πάρεσι καὶ ἐπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ
 10 ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὓς ὠμόσατε μεμνημένοι, καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἐὰν ἐλέγξω Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γράψαντα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε, ὧ Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς παρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιοῦτε
 15 τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κολάζετε τὸς ὑπεναντίως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολιτευομένους. Κἂν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκούητε τῶν μελλόντων ρηθήσεσθαι λόγων, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δίκαια, καὶ εὖορκα, καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν
 20 αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπίζω προειρηθῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων, οἳ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο τυγχάνει γεγραφῶς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων
 25 εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσόδους διοικοῦντες, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ ἕκασα τέτων, προσλαμβάνοντες τὸς τε ἐκ τῆ βουλευτηρίου ρήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, πόρρωθεν
 30 προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύναις ἐπαίνοις καὶ κηρύγμασιν, ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰς

τὴν μεγίστην μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς κατηγο-
 ρους, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰς δικαστάς. Πολλοὶ γὰρ
 πάνυ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται τῶν δη-
 μοσίων χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι, διεφύγγανον
 ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων· εἰκότως· ἤσχύνοντο γὰρ (οἶμαι) 5
 οἱ δικασταί, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
 πόλει (τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ) πρόην μὲν
 ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ὅτι στεφανουῦ-
 ται ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
 χρυσῷ σεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν 10
 ἔξεισιν ἐκ τῆ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἔνεκα τὰς εὐθύνας
 ὠφληκῶς· ὥστε τὴν ψῆφον ἠναγκάζοντο φέρειν οἱ δι-
 κασταί οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
 τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου. Κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα νο-
 μοθέτης, τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν 15
 διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τὰς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφα-
 νοῦν. Καὶ ταῦθ' ἔτι εὖ προκατειληφότος τοῦ νο-
 μοθέτου, εὖρηνται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οὓς
 εἰ μὴ τις ὑμῖν ἔρει, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Τούτων
 γὰρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ 20
 τοὺς νόμους, οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν (εἰ δὴ τίς
 ἔστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων), ἀλλ'
 οὖν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης· προσεγ-
 γράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα, στεφανοῦν τὸν
 ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ. 25
 Καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται (προ-
 καταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ
 εὐθύναι), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψηφίσμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς
 ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται
 δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἠμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δὲ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 30
 ναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευ-

θύνων κείμενον, και την πρόφασιν, ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελών, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

- 5 Λέξουσι δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα, ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται
- 10 ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησειῷ, κἀκείνας, ἃς ὁ δῆμος εἶωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων, νόμον
- 15 ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται· “Τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησιν “ἀρχὰς” (ἀπάσας ἐνὶ περιλαβῶν ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ)
- 20 “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων” (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) “καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων” (οἱ δὲ
- 25 τῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάται πάντες ἡγεμονία χροῶνται δικαστηρίου)· τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι, ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἄρχουσι), καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύ-
- 30 νας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, κελεύει. “Οτι

δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃς ὁ νομοθέτης ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζει, οὗτοι προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας⁵ καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν, καὶ ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον σοφιστὴν, οἰόμενον ρήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγη¹⁰ παράνομα γεγραφῶς, τοσοῦτῳ μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύξεται. Χρῆ γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ρήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφήῃ ὁ νόμος, ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ρήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρῆ διδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ¹⁵ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.

Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἀφρικτον λόγον, ὅν φησι Δημοσθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὗτος, “Τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείργασμαι· τίνοσ²⁰ ἔν εἰμι ὑπεύθυνος; εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστὶν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη.” Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὖση, καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὅπως οὖν πρὸς τὰ²⁵ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. Διδάξω δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων· οἷον, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας, καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν³⁰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ, ἀλλὰ

καὶ κοινῇ κατὰ γένη, *Εὐμολπίδας* καὶ *Κήρυκας* καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. Πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ
5 μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους, βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀποδιδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς πατρώας οὐσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φιλοτιμίαν. Οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ τριηράρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
10 συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἔρχεται ψῆφον. *Πρωῶτον* μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι· καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυρίαν ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμέτεραν ψῆφον.
15 Οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου; οὐδὲ γὰρ πατριὸν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάνν γε· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἐάν τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐξαμαρτάνῃ κολάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι. Πάλιν
20 τὴν βουλὴν, τὸς πεντακοσίους, ὑπεύθυνον πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης· καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εὐθέως ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων λέγει· “*Ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνόν*” φησι “*μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.*” Ὡς Ἡράκλεις (ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις), ὅτι ἦρξα, μὴ ἀποδη-
25 μῆσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβῶν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως, ἢ πράξεις, δρασμῶν χρῆσῃ. Πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἐὰ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν, οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι, οὐδ' ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας
30 ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀποδῶσι τῇ πόλει. *Ναί*, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔτε

εἴληφεν οὐδέν τῶν δημοσίων οὔτ' ἀνήλωκε, προσῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. Καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τὰς λογιστάς. Καὶ πῶς ὁ γε μηδὲν λαβὼν μηδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ πόλει; αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἃ χρὴ γράφειν· 5 κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τῆτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι “Οὔτ' ἔλαβον οὐδέν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἀνήλωσα.” ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀζήτητον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

10

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

“Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης, λέγων ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· “Οὔκουν ἐχρῆν σε, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἔασαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρύξαι 15 τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαι σοὶ τὸν βουλούμενον τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴλη- 20 φώς. Μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἔξαιρῶ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου· ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.”

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὔτοι 25 προφασιοῦνται, μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅθ' οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχὴν, ἀρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δὲ πῶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐθύνας 30 δεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ

τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι, ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, ὅτι με-
5 σοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν στεφανοῦν· ἀνα-
γίνωσκε.

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤῶΝ ἩΜΕΡῶΝ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτῃ δείξαιμι, δι-
καίως ἂν ἀλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἰρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ
10 ἢ κατηγορία ἢ ἐμὴ, ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντι-
γραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ' ἑκάστην
πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ·
διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν,
15 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἤρχον μὲν
(πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι) τὴν τοῦ
ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχὴν, ἤρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν
καὶ νεωρίων ἀρχὴν, καὶ σκευοθήκην ᾠκοδόμουν, ἦσαν
δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον
20 τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπι-
τιμῶν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βούλομαι,
ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, εἴαν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχί-
σης ὑπεύθυνος ἦ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἔῃ, πρὶν ἂν λόγος καὶ
εὐθύνας δῶ, στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν, Δημοσθένην
25 τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρ-
χοντα, οὐκ ᾤκησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἤρχεν,
ὅθ' οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρή-
ματα διεχειρίζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε, καθάπερ
30 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας
ἐλάμβανε, τέτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτη-

σιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαίρωνδου ἄρχοντος, Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρα φθίνοντος, ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε ψηφίσμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν Σκιοφοριῶνος δευτέρα ἰσταμένου καὶ τρίτη, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ⁵ ψηφίσματι, ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἵν' ἡ πόλις ἔχη ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Καί μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

10

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναί, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθέως, λέγων ὡς οὐτ' ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὐτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. Καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιήσονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε¹⁵ νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς τούτων τέχνας. Μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προειπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἔστι γὰρ, ὧ² ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἴδη τρία, ὧν ἐν μὲν καὶ πᾶσι φανερώτατον οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ²⁰ ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται, τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, “Καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι αἰρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας.”²⁵ Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀφέλη τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπεται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριτύες καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἰροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἰρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι·³⁰ τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται, ὅταν, ὡσπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῆ τι

ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι, ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

- 5 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Πανδιονὶς φυλὴ ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν
- 10 δέκα τάλαντα, ἕτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἄρχῆν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ρήτωρ γέγραφε στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, μὴ προσθεῖς “ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ,” ἐγὼ δ' ἐξήλεγξα
- 15 τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἅμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παρανομώτατα γεγραφότα;

- Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου
- 20 παρὰ νόμους ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. Ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, εἰ μὲν τινα στεφανοῖ ἢ βουλῆ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν
- 25 νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

- Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. Οὐ γὰρ (οἶμαι) ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ρήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἕξωθεν,
- 30 ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. Ὁ

μὲν νομοθέτης οὕτως · ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς ; ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πνυκί τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ⁵ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκῶν, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ¹⁰ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἴν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. Οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφῶς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίησε τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις, ἃς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερωῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Οὗτοι¹⁵ γὰρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογία τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τῷ νόμῳ μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν,²⁰ καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇ γραφῇ τῆδε, καὶ λέξουσιν, ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἷς μὲν, ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι, διαρρήδη ἀπαγορεύων τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς²⁵ ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγῳδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος · κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσσει γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς³⁰ τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέξομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς

νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστ' ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυ-
 5 ρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τί ἂν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ἧ ταῦτὰ προστάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως, μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτε εἰς τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν
 10 τῶν νόμων προβαίητε· οὔτε ἡμέληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαρῶρήδην προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντας καὶ
 15 σκευαμένους, εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐναντίος ἐτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ εἴπου εἰσὶ νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως· καὶν τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν, ἀναγεγραφότας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κε-
 20 λεύει πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιγράψαντας τὰς νομοθέτας, τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὅπως ἂν εἷς ἢ νόμος
 25 καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως. Καί μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος, καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι
 30 περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης (οἶομαι) τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτανέων

ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις, ἀνήρητ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἤτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν, ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὁπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δήπου ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. 5

Ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψευδὲς τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς, προειπὼν ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. Γινομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγωδῶν, ἀνεκλήρυττόν τινες, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι στεφανοῦνται 10 ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν· ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ὑποκηρυζάμενοι, τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκέτας ἀφίεσαν ἀπελευθέρους, μάρτυρας τῆς ἀπελευθερίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιοῦμενοι. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτατον, προξενίας τινὲς εὖρημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι, 15 διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων, ἢ Χίων, ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας· καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στεφανούμενοι, ἢ ὑπὸ 20 τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ προελόμενοι ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυττομέ- 25 νους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδέδεικτο τόπος ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἧ ἤρη χορὴ στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀνηγορευόντο ἐνώπιον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ 30 κείνοι μὲν μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὔτοι

δ' ἄνευ ψηφίσματος. Συνιδῶν δὴ τις ταῦτα νο-
 μοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ
 περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε
 λύσας ἐκείνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἠνωχλεῖτο,
 5 ἀλλὰ τὸ θεάτρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον
 κειμένοις νόμοις τιθεῖς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ πε-
 ρὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων
 ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς
 οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν
 10 στεφάνων· καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην
 ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν
 ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι σεφανόμενον, μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλ-
 λου (φησὶ) μηδενὸς, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα.
 Ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στε-
 15 φανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρήθηται, τοῖς
 δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
 τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμένοις καὶ φυλε-
 τῶν ἀπέιπη μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἵνα
 μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ, φι-
 20 λοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπέιπη δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ
 ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βουλῆς
 καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν,—ὅταν δὴ τις
 ταῦτα ἀφέληται, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν
 οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα
 25 σημεῖον ὑμῖν τούτου ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω.
 Αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναρρήθη, ἰερὸν εἶναι τῆς
 Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφα-
 νούμενον. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν τολμήσειε τοσαύτην
 30 ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναί-
 ων; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ιδιώτης οὐδὲ

εἰς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς ἔδωκε
 στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ
 καθιεροῦν. Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν
 στέφανον καὶ καθιέρωσις γεγένηται, ἵνα μηδεὶς
 ἄλλοτρίαν εὐνοίαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς 5
 πατρίδος, χείρων γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ
 ἐκείνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναρῶθέντα στέφανον
 οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ
 μόνον αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς 10
 τὸν δῆμον γίνωνται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ
 νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἄλλότριον στέφανον
 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἡ πόλις
 ἢ βεβλομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν, πρέσβεις
 πέμψασα δεηθῆ τοῦ δήμου, ἢ ὁ κηρυττόμενος 15
 μείζω χάριν εἰδῆ τοῦ στεφάνου ὑμῖν, ἢ τοῖς στεφα-
 νοῦσιν, ὅτι κηρύξαι ἐπετρέψατε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν ἔξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς 20
 προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν
 ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβα-
 λεῖν, ναὶ, εἴ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ
 δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικται σοι τόπος, ὅπου
 δεῖ τῷτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηται σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας 25
 μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὅ
 τι ἐστίν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις,
 ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

Ἔστι δ' ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας,
 ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπευδάω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, 30
 δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως

ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, “Καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνας, ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας” καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, “ὅτι διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ 5 πρᾶττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ.” Ἀπλοῦς δὲ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γίγνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρῖναι εὐμαθῆς· δεῖ γὰρ δὴ πον τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεικνῦναι, ὡς εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς, καὶ ὡς 10 οὗτ' ἤρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα, οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πρᾶττων τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶν τῆσ' ἐπιδείξω, δικαίως δὲ περὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. Τῷ δ' ἀπο- 15 λογημένῳ τὸναντίον τούτου δεικτέον ἐστίν. Ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων κριταί. Ἐχει δ' οὕτως.

Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐξετάζειν μακροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἠγοῦμαι εἶναι. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος 20 γραφὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ' ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἀρειὸν πάγον Δημομέλη τὸν Παιανιέα, ἀνεπιὸν ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κηφισοδότου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλεον τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅτε εἰς ὧν τῶν τριηράρχων 25 Δημοσθένης, καὶ περιάγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ συνθύων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ τούτων ἀξιώθεις διὰ τὸ πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι, οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένε περὶ θανάτου, κατήγορος γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη τὰ 30 περὶ Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύλους, οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ χορηγὸς ὢν, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα

μνῶν ἅμα τὴν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδιδούς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο φο-5
 βούμενος, μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογέμενα. Καίτοι, ὧ Κτησιφῶν, ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχρῶν οὕτως ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὡς τὸν κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πα-10
 λαιὰ καὶ λίαν προωμολογημένα, πότερα αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι, ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σέ, τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν, πότερα χρὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει διδόναι;

15

Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῆ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγένηται καιροὶ, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. 20
 Ὡν ἓνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἀπάντων (ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκῶ) καταλογίζεται ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζειται τὸν χρόνον τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε, 25
 καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐγὼ δείξω. Δεύτερον δὲ καιρὸν φήσει γενέσθαι ὃν ἤγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν ἣ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον 30
 δ' ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον, μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς

ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρόν.
 Ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος (ὡς ἀκούω), μέλλει
 με καλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν, ὁποῖς τέτων τῶν τεττάρων
 αὐτῶ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ, καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλ-
 5 τιστὰ φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτευῆσθαι· καὶ μὴ θέλω
 ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδρά-
 σκω, ἐκκαλύψειν μὲ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἄξιον ἐπὶ
 τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι. Ἰν' οὖν
 μὴθ' οὗτος ἰσχυρίζηται, ὑμεῖς τε προειδῆτε, ἐγώ
 10 τε ἀποκρίνωμαι, ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν, Δη-
 μόσθενες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν
 περιεστᾶσι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγο-
 νεν ὑπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως (ὄρῳ δὲ οὐκ ὀλί-
 γους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνη-
 15 ται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένων), ἀποκρί-
 νομαι, ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγο-
 ρῶ σοι, οὐς σὺ διαιρῆ· καὶ οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι,
 καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι, καὶ γὰρ δύ-
 νωμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἅ σοι σύνοιδα, πάνυ προς-
 20 δοκῶ ἀποδείξειν τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας
 τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς
 φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι
 χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημο-
 σθένην αἴτιον γεγενημένον. Καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ
 25 λόγου τάξει ταύτῃ, ἣν τοῦτον πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖ-
 σθαι μέλλειν· λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶ πρώτου και-
 ροῦ καὶ δευτέρου περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου
 περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν κα-
 θεστηκότων πραγμάτων. Καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἔμαν-
 30 τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης
 ἐγράφατε.

Ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἄν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν
 προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ
 συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἶασαν
 περιμεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας, ἃς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες
 κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακα- 5
 λοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνε-
 δρίου, καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τούτων
 ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, καὶ
 τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν συστάντες 10
 ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. Εἰ δέ τιςιν ὑμῶν
 ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ
 τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε
 ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων
 διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. 15
 Ἐρχόμεθα δὴ πού ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας
 ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ
 λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὔτω
 δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμο-
 λογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς 20
 ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῆ. Οὔτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν
 ποιήσασθε· εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων
 ἦκασι οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα
 ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πρόποτε εἶρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
 συστάς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὔτω διάκειται, 25
 μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἀκού-
 ση· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων
 ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμνήσκοντος τοὺς καιροὺς, καὶ τὸ ψή-
 φισμα παρεχομένου ὃ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε
 Δημοσθένης, ἐὰν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς 30
 ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγρα-

φότα ψηφίσματα μετὰ Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν
 δ' αἰσχύνῃς κεκολακευκότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς
 παρ' ἐκείνου, τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα,
 5 αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ
 συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
 ἔκδοτον δὲ Φιλίππῳ πεποιηκότα Κερσοβλέπτην τὸν
 Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ
 πόλει, εἰάν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι
 10 ὑμῶν μετρίαν δέησιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν
 τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν
 πεπολιτεῦσθαι. Λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολο-
 λουθήσετε.

Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξιῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κή-
 15 ρυκας καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμα-
 χίας· τῆτο τὸ ψηφίσμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. Ἦκον
 οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Δυκῖνος ὁ
 γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο
 δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. Μετὰ
 20 ταῦτα ἐπῆει ὁ χρόνος, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρχῶν· ἐν-
 ταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον
 Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 παρασκευῆς προάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα
 καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε
 25 τὸ ἔργον. Νικᾷ γὰρ ἕτερον ψηφίσμα Φιλοκράτης,
 ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικό-
 μενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀξιόσβειν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις
 αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων
 εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης· κακεῖθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης
 30 ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν
 ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπεί-

σασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς
 πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μὲν γε
 τὴν ἔξερσίαν δέδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις
 πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. Τὰ δὲ
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη μοι σφόδρα προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. 5
 Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς
 πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ
 Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθέ-
 νην (εἰκότως, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα
 δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας), πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως 10
 μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὓς ἦτε ἐκπεπομπού-
 ρατε, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρή-
 νην· δεύτερον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, 15
 ἵν' εἴ τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν
 ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν, ὀρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς
 μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ
 μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους
 ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ Θρά- 20
 κης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος, μήτε μετέσται τῆς
 συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. Παρηγγέλλετο
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατιά. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔξωνό-
 μενος οὐκ ἠδίκηει (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συν-
 θηκῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέρον- 25
 τα), οἱ δ' ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινώσαντες τὰ τῆς
 πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ, μεγάλης ὀργῆς ἦσαν ἄξιοι. Ὁ γὰρ
 μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι, καὶ τότε μισοφί-
 λιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων
 τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς καιροὺς 30
 τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς

πρυτάνεις τῆ ὀγδόῃ ἵσταμένου τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος
 μηνός, ὅτε ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προα-
 γών, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ πρότερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται
 γενομένην τινά· πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος, ἵνα (φησὶν)
 5 ἐὰν ἤδη παρῶσιν ὡς ἡμᾶς οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις,
 βουλευσῆται ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς
 Φίλιππον, τοῖς οὕτω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκατα-
 λαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν
 ὑποτεμνόμενος, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων, ἵνα
 10 μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἐπανελθόντων τῶν
 ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν
 εἰρήνην. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἤκον οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι
 ἀπεδήμην παρακαλῶντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιπ-
 15 πον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης,
 ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλευσασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας
 τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ
 ἐν ἄστει Διονύσια τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα.
 20 Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεληλύθει
 τὰ Διονύσια, ἐγένοντο διτταὶ ἐκκλησίαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ
 προτέρᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων, οὗ
 25 τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερωῶ. Πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλευ-
 σασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ
 ἐπιλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν
 ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι· ἔπειτ' ἀπήντησαν
 30 ὀρθῶς, ἰασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ
 προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι, ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἱκανὸν 5 γενέσθαι παρασκευάζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν τῇ πόλει μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν', εἰ παραβαίνοντο αἱ συνθήκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ἃ νῦν ὑμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ 10 αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

ΔΌΓΜΑ ΣΤΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

Τέτω τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφῶς, 15 ὡς ἔσαι μὲν εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βελεύσασθαι, ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων. Νῦν ἔν μέσῳ, καὶ παρηῆμεν τῇ ὑσεραία εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ προκαταλαμβάνων Δημοσθένης τὸ 20 βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπῶν λόγον, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις, εἰδὲ γινώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀπέσης συμμαχίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς 25 εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος) ἀπορῥῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, εἰδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτούς, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπα- 30 τρον ἐρώτημά τι ἠρώτα, προειπῶν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται,

προδιδάξας δὲ ἅ χρῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι· καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένους τοῦ Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γραψαντος Φιλοκράτους. Ὁ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσο-
 5 βλέπτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπραξαν ἕκτη φθίνοντος τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑσέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ μισοφίλιππος ὑμῖν οὗτος ῥήτωρ δις
 10 ἐπρέσθευσεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἐξὸν μηδὲ ἀπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἕκτη λέγω, προκαθεζόμενος, βουλευτῆς ὢν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἔκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἐποίησε. Λανθάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν
 15 Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφίσματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας (ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης), ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται “Ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ὄρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχων.” Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ
 20 Κερσοβλέπτη συνέδρος ἐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνεδρευόντας ὀμνῦναι, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρευόντα ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὄρκων. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι, τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα γράψας, καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

25

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλὸν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὸν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακῆ· ἀκίνητον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ συμμεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὅποταν βούληται, συνιδεῖν
 30 τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πονηροὺς, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι χρηστούς.

Ἐπόλοιπον δέ μοι ἐσὶ τὴν κολακείαν αὐτῆ διεξεληθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας, οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε, καὶ 5 φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε, καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγεῖτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. Καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν εἰς Θήβας, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὄρεκα, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις πρῆπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, κατα- 10 γέλασον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. Ἴνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικού- 15 τος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ, πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμον πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον, κατεψεύσατο ὡς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, 20 οὐς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτορκῶν, νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἑβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἔβου- 25 θύτει καὶ παρηγόμεναι, τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας· καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. Ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστὸς, εἰδὲ ὁ τὰ φίλτατα 30 καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς

περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ
 ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστὸς,
 οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν οἴκοι φαῦλος οὐδέ ποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακε-
 δονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς καὶ γαθός· οὐ γὰρ
 5 τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξε.

Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πραγμά-
 των (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δεύτερος καιρὸς), καὶ τί
 ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἶτιον, ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
 αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγε-
 10 λίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων
 κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὁ
 μιαιρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόντως
 ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκούσαι. Ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω Πυλῶν
 Φίλιππος παρῆλθε, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις
 15 παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δὲ, ὡς
 τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου
 συμφέροντος ἰσχυρὸς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς τ' ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκευαγωγῆκατε, ἐν ταῖς με-
 γίσταις δὴ ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰ-
 20 ρήνης πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόν-
 τως Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης, διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον
 πρεσβεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι
 (συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεισθαί τι τὸν
 Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων
 25 ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι)·
 τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτούσης ταραχῆς, μετὰ τῶν συμφύ-
 των αὐτῶ νοσημάτων ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβλεπύετο,
 μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς
 δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ ἠγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμ-
 30 πρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατήγορος ἀνα-
 φανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδήλως ἀπολεῖσθαι,

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτοὺς
 δ' εὐδοκιμήσειν, καὶ προδότης ὢν τῶν φίλων καὶ πο-
 νηρὸς, πιστὸς τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι. Κατιδόντες
 δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ τῆς πόλεως προσπολεμοῦντες ἡσυχία,
 ἄσμενοι παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδω-5
 ροδόκητον ὀνομάζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριῶν, ἀρ-
 χὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. Οὗτός
 ἔστιν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρρῳιον
 τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μουργί-
 σκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ 10
 ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον· καὶ ἐς τοῦτο φέρων πε-
 ριέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι Φί-
 λιππος πρέσβεις, καταφρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλε-
 ως, εἰ δὲ πέμποι, κατασκόπῃς πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέσ-
 βεις· εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἴση καὶ ὁμοία 15
 περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν
 ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππῳ. Ἀλόνησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπη-
 γόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδί-
 δωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. Καὶ τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου εἰς 20
 Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς περὶ τῆς
 εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας, τὴν μὲν εἰρή-
 νην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
 παρεσκεύασε.

Ναὶ, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν 25
 (ὡς αὐτός φησι) τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν
 Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχία. Ἄλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἠδίκησθε καὶ
 μάλιστα ἠγνοήκατε· σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς
 μεγίστης συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἴν' ἐφεξῆς 30
 εἶπω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι.

Ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠδικημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ Ταυροσθένης πατρὸς (οὓς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν λαβὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν),
 5 καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Θεμισώνας τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης οὔσης Ὠρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν Θηβαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς, ναυσί τε καὶ
 10 πεζικῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι, καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν
 15 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι. Καὶ τηλικαῦθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιούνηθ' ὑμῖν
 20 εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρῆλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερεβάλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς (ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθὸν λαβὼν ἐνεκωμιάζειν), ὄρων τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τινὰς δυσχωρίας κα-
 25 τακεκλεισμένον, ὅθεν μὴ νικήσασι μάχην οὐκ ἦν ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοθηείας ἐλπίς οὔτ' ἐκ γῆς οὔτ' ἐκ θαλάσσης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εὐβοίας στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμεταπεμψάμενος, ὃ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὃ
 30 νυνὶ πάντας δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν, τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀναι-

ρήσοντες. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἀφίεσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς 5 πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις αἰσχίστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχεῖσαι κατὰ πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίως ἑαυτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν. Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοι-10 αὔτα πεπονθότες, πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Τυχῶν δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης Καλλιᾶς ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν 15 Εὐβοίαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος· καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιῆει μετὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς ὠνομάζετο. Ἄδικήσας δὲ Φίλιπ-20 πον, κἀκεῖθεν ἀποδρὰς ὑπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις· ἐγκαταλιπὼν δὲ κἀκείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου, παρ' ὃν ᾧκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. Ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγ-25 γελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατιᾶς, μίαν ἐλπίδα λοιπὴν κατειδε σωτηρίας, ἔνορκον λαβεῖν τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα, βοηθήσειν ἂν τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴη, ὃ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσαίτε. Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποσέλ-30 λει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέδωνα καὶ

Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν
 δήμῳ ἐλπίδας κενὰς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον καὶ
 τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Τρία δ' ἦν ἅ ἅμα ἐξωνεῖτο· πρῶ-
 τον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας,
 5 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεῖς τῶν προτέρων
 ἀδικημάτων ὃ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν,
 ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος, ἢ
 τεθνᾶναι ἐγκαταληφθέντι, τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστράτεον, ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἢ Θη-
 10 βαίων· δεύτερον δ' ἦγον οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράφαντι
 τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεύειν Ἀθήνησι
 Χαλκιδέας· τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις.
 Καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέτυχε
 Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὃ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθένης, ὡς αὐτὸς
 15 προσποιεῖται (ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν),
 ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἔγραψε
 δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα
 μόνον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀντὶ τούτων εὐφημίας
 ἔνεκα προσγράψας, καὶ Χαλκιδέας βοηθεῖν ἐάν τις
 20 ἦ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίσις· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συντά-
 ξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμελλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέ-
 δοτο, καλλίσις ὀνόμασιν αἰσχίστας πράξεις γράφων,
 καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, τὰς μὲν βοηθείας
 ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν προτέρας ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀεὶ δε-
 25 ομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας
 μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. Ἴνα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, λάβε μοι τὴν Καλλίσις γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμα-
 χίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

30 Οὕτω τοίνυν τοῦτό ἐστι δεινόν, εἰ οἱ καιροὶ πέ-
 πρανται τηλικούτοι καὶ συνεδρίαὶ καὶ συντάξεις,

ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῆς δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὃ μέλλω
 λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ
 Χαλκιδεὺς ὑβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δὲ
 (ὃν ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν) δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ
 Ὠρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετριᾶς, τὰ δέκα 5
 τάλαντα, ὀρώντων, φρονούντων, βλεπόντων ἔλαθον
 ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων
 συνέδρους παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς
 Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνέδριον
 συνήγαγον· ὃν δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι' οἷων κακουργη- 10
 μάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἀφικνεῖται
 γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ
 Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους
 διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. Εἶπε
 γὰρ, ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμα 15
 συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φί-
 λιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο ὅσον ἑκάστους ἔδει συντε-
 λεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντας καὶ Μεγαρέας ἐξήκοντα
 τάλαντα, τὰς δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις ἀπάσας τετταρά-
 κοντα, ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ 20
 ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν δύναμιν· εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς
 ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς
 συντάξεως, ὥστ' οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσε-
 σθαι ἀπορίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη
 δὲ καὶ πράξεις πράττειν ἑτέρας δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ 25
 τῶν εἶναι τινὰς μάρτυρας τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν,
 καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκάλει Δημοσθένην καὶ
 συνειπεῖν ἠξίει. Ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς πάνυ παρελθὼν, τόν
 τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει, καὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον προση-
 ποιήσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν δ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβεύ- 30
 αν, ἣν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη

βέλεσθαι ὑμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων, πάντας μὲν Πελοποννησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνανάσιν συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ὑφ' ἑαυτῆ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα χρημάτων 5 μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναντουσῶν πληρώματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἵππεῖς χιλίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλείονας ἢ δις χιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέροισι τοσοῦτους· δεδῶσθαι δὲ 10 ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῖν· πραγθῆσεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τῷ Ἀνθεστηριῶνός μηνός· εἰρησθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρηγγέλλαι πάντας ἡκεῖν συνεδρεύσοντας Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὴν παν- 15 σέληνον. Καὶ γὰρ τι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιεῖ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζόνες, ὅταν τι ψεύδωνται, ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται λέγειν, φοβούμενοι τὸν ἔλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν ἀλαζονεύηται, πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ὅρκου ψεύδεται, ἐξώλειαν 20 ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύτερον δὲ, ἂν εὔοιδεν εὐδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμᾷ λέγειν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὅπου ἔσται, καὶ ὧν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἑώρακε, τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ μιμούμενος τοὺς τάληθῆ λέγοντας· διὸ καὶ μάλιστ' ἀξιός ἐστι μισεῖ- 25 σθαι, ὅτι πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ γραμματεῖ, μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, κενώτερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οὕς εἶωθε λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν 30 βεβίωκε, μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ ἐσομένων, καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐδέποτε συλλεγησομένων. Ἀπαγαγὼν

δ' ὑμᾶς ἀποθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀνακρεμά-
 σας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἔνταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας, γρά-
 φει κελεύων ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἐρετρίαν, οὔτινες
 δεήσονται τῶν Ἐρετριέων (πάνν γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι
 αὐτῶν) μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν τὰ πέντε 5
 τάλαντα, ἀλλὰ Καλλία· καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρας αἰρεῖσθαι
 εἰς Ὠρεὸν πρέσβεις, οὔτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ δεήσονται τῶν
 Ὠρειτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν
 νομίζειν εἶναι· ἔπειτ' ἀναφαίνεται πέρας ἀπάντων
 ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι γράψας, καὶ τὰ 10
 πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιούν τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας
 μὴ ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλία διδόναι. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλα-
 ζονείαν ἐκ τῆ ψηφίσματος, ἀνάγνωθι, καὶ τῆ κλέμ-
 ματος ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος ἄνθρω- 15
 πος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι
 διατελεῖν λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ
 δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιάν 20
 καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἤκού-
 σατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τά-
 λαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.

Ἐπόλοιπον δὲ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι λαθὼν τρία
 τάλαντα μισθὸν, τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημο- 25
 σθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου,
 τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ἐρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτόρχου τοῦ
 τυράννου, τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ὠρεῶν, δι' ὃ καὶ καταφανῆς
 ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὠρειτῶν καὶ πάντα
 πρατιόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. Ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ 30
 ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρους

διακείμενοι, πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν
 Χαριγένεος υἱὸν, τοῦ δυνασεύσαντός ποτε ἐν Ὠρεῶν,
 δεησόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφιέναι τῇ πόλει,
 ἐπαγγελλόμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα στήσεσθαι
 5 ἐν Ὠρεῶν· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδήμῳ, ὅτι ἐλα-
 χίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον δια τῆ
 Καλλίς εἰσπράττειν. Ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὠρεῖ-
 ται καὶ οὐκ εὐπορῶντες, ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τῆ ταλάντε
 τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, καὶ τόκον ἤνεγκαν Δημο-
 10 σθένει τοῦ δωροδοκῆματος δραχμῆν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς
 μῶας, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπρά-
 χθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου· ὅτι δὲ τάληθῆ
 λέγω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψηφίσμα τῶν Ὠρειτῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

15 Τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ψηφίσμα, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 αἰσχύνῃ μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν
 Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων, φανερά δὲ κατηγορία
 Κτησιφῶντος· τὸν γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχρῶς δωροδοκῶντα
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθόν, ὃ τετόλμηκεν
 20 οὗτος γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν,
 μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημο-
 σθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως
 πράξεις, ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς,
 25 ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἴσην τὴν πρὸς Θεβαίαις συμ-
 μαχίαν γράψας. Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
 θεοὺς αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

Ἔστι γὰρ, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρῶδιον
 ὠνομασμένον πεδίον, καὶ λιμῆν ὃ νῦν ἐξάριστος
 30 καὶ ἐπάρατος ὠνομασμένος· ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώ-
 ραν κατόκησαν Κιρῶδιοὶ καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαι, γένη

παρανομώτατα, οἱ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ
 τὰ ἀναθήματα ἠσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς
 τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας· ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς
 γιγνομένοις μάλιστα μὲν (ὡς λέγονται) οἱ πρόγονοι
 οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες, μαν- 5
 τείαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμω-
 ρία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελθεῖν. Καὶ αὐτοῖς
 ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία, πολεμεῖν Κιρῶαίοις καὶ Ἀκραγαλ-
 λίδαῖς πάντ' ἡμᾶτα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, καὶ τὴν χώ-
 ραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδι- 10
 σαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ
 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Δητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Προναίᾳ ἐπὶ
 πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μὴτ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴτ' ἄλλον ἐᾶν. Λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρη-
 σμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψηφίσαντο (Σόλωνος εἰπόν- 15
 τος Ἀθηναίς τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι
 δυνατῆ, καὶ περὶ ποιήσιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετρι-
 φότος), ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαν-
 τείαν τῆς θεᾶ· καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν ἱκανὴν
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀν- 20
 θρώπους, καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἔχωσαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καθιέρω-
 σαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τέτοις ὄρκον ὤμο-
 σαν ἰσχυρόν, μὴτε αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργάσεσθαι,
 μὴτ' ἄλλω ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ 25
 τῇ γῆ τῇ ἱερᾷ, καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ πάσῃ δυνά-
 μει. Καὶ ἐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆτον μόνον τὸν ὄρ-
 κον ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἄρὰν ἰσχυ-
 ρὰν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιήσαντο· γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως
 ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ· “ Εἴ τις τάδε (φησί) παραβαίνει, ἢ πό- 30
 λῖς, ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγῆς (φησιν) ἔστω τοῦ

Ἐπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Προναίας·” καὶ ἐπεύχεται αὐτοῖς “μηδὲ γῆν καρπὸς φέρειν, μήτε γυναικας τέκνα τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ἑοικότα, ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μηδὲ βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἦτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμους καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνων, καὶ μήποτε (φησιν) ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μηδὲ τῇ Ἀητοῖ, μηδ’ Ἀθηναῖ Προναία, 10 μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.” “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τῆ θεῆ μαντείαν, ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς, ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὄρκων, ἕς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνώμοσαν.

ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

15 “Ὅθ’ πρὶν τῆσδε πόλης ἐρεΐψετε πύργον ἐλόντες, Πρὶν κε θεοῦ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης Κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς.”

ὍΡΚΟΙ. ἈΡΑ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας 20 γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειρογάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας 25 ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεσμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς Πυλαγορῶν ἐνίοις χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν Πυλαγόρας, λαμβάνει χιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμ- 30 φικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι· διωμολογήθη δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ

ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάσθῃ μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἑξαγίστων καὶ ἑπα-
 ράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισ-
 σεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτις ἂν προσά-
 ψηται ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, ἢ δυνάστου, ἢ πόλεως δημο- 5
 κρατουμένης, τούτων ἑκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς πε-
 ριβάλλειν.

Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὡς
 περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. Ἐπι-
 γὰρ Θεοφράστῃ ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνή- 10
 του Ἀναφλυστίου, Πυλαγόρας ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μει-
 δίαν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον (ὃν ἐβελόμην ἂν
 πολλῶν ἔνεκα ζῆν) καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν Λέκκιον,
 καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. Συνέβη δὲ ἡμῖν
 ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφίχθαι, παραζοῆμα δὲ τὸν 15
 ἱερομνήμονα Διόγνητον πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τῆτο
 συνεπεπτώκει καὶ τῷ Μειδία. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκά-
 θηντο Ἀμφικτύονες· ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν
 βουλομένων εὐνοίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ
 Ἀμφισσεῖς, ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θερα- 20
 πεύοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς
 ἡμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι
 τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέ-
 θεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἑξαράσασθαι, καὶ
 ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα, “ Ἀθηναῖοι 25
 ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 σιν ἐμάχοντο.” Μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἱερομνήμων
 ἤξιόν με εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι
 πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν
 οὕτω προσηρημένον· Ἀρχομένε δέ μου λέγειν, καὶ 30
 προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον,

τῶν ἄλλων Πυλαγορῶν μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας
 τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ
 (ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο) οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκῶς,
 ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν
 5 προαγομένε, ἀρχὴν δέ γε ἔφη. “ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλλη-
 νες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ’ ἂν ὀνομάζειτε τοῦνομα
 τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς ἡμέραις,
 ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετε τοῦ ἱερῶ.” Ἀμα δὲ ἐμέ-
 μνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρόβυλος
 10 ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ
 τῆς πόλεως διεξῆει λέγων, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότε ἔκαρτέρεν
 ἀκούων, οὔτε νῦν ἠδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν· ἀκούσας
 δὲ οὔτω παρωξύνθη, ὡς οὐδεπόποτ’ ἐν τῷ ἔμαυτοῦ
 βίῳ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι·
 15 ἐπῆλθε δ’ οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην, μνησθῆναι τῆς
 τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας,
 καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκῶς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν
 (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρῶδιον πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῶ, καὶ
 ἔσιν εὐσύνοπτον). “Ὁρᾶτε” ἔφην ἐγὼ, “ὦ ἄνδρες
 20 Ἀμφικτύονες, ἐξειργασμένον τουτὶ τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ
 τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, καὶ κεραμεῖα ἐνφοδομημένα καὶ
 ἐπαύλια· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν ἐξάριστον καὶ
 ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε τούτους αὐτοὶ
 (καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων) τέλη πεπραχό-
 25 τας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῆ ἱερῶ λιμένος.”
 Ἀμα δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐκέλενον αὐτοῖς τὴν μαντεί-
 αν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ὄρκον τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ἀρὰν
 τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμην, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν
 30 τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἔμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ (κατὰ τὸν
 ὄρκον) καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερῶ, καὶ χειρὶ καὶ

ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύναιμαι, καὶ τὴν πό-
 λιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς
 δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλευσασθε· ἐνῆρκται
 μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα,
 μέλλετε δ' αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ 5
 ἰδία· σκοπεῖτε δὴ, ποία φωνῇ, ποία ψυχῇ, ποίοις
 ὄμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἰκεσίας ποιή-
 σεσθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς
 καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους; οὐ γὰρ δι' αἰνιγμάτων,
 ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ κατὰ τε τῶν 10
 ἀσεβησάντων, ἃ χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν
 ἐπιτρεψάντων, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται·
 “Μήθ' ὄσιως θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντές (φησι)
 τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μήτε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μήτε τῇ Ἀθηοῖ,
 μηδ' Ἀθηνᾶ Προναία, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτῶν τὰ 15
 ἱερά.”

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τέτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξεληθόν-
 τος ἔμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ
 τοῦ συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν
 Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπί- 20
 δων, ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμ-
 φισσέων τιμωρίας. Ἦδη δὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὐ-
 σης, προσελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε, “Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ
 διετὲς ἠβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἑλευθέρους, ἤκειν
 ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἅμα καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ 25
 Θυτεῖον ἐκεῖ καλούμενον·” καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κή-
 ρυξ ἀνηγόρευε “τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ Πυλαγόρας
 ἤκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ
 καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ· ἥτις δ' ἂν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρ-
 ξεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἐνο- 30
 χος.” Τῇ δ' ὑσεραία ἤκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρη-

μένον τόπον, καὶ κατέβημεν εἰς τὸ Κιϋρῶαιον πεδῖον,
 καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμ-
 πρήσαντες ἀνεχωροῦμεν· ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόν-
 των, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ἐξήκοντα σάδια ἄπο-
 5 θεν οἰκοῦντες Δελφῶν, ἤκον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὄπλων
 πανδημεῖ, καὶ εἰ μὴ δρόμῳ μόλις ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς
 Δελφὸς, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν ἀπολέσθαι. Τῇ δ' ἐπι-
 ούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Κότιτυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων
 ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων (ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ
 10 ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς Πυλαγόρας καὶ
 τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ). Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη
 πολλαὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἐγίγνοντο κατηγορίαι,
 πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέ-
 15 λος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἤκειν τοὺς ἱε-
 ρομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπίσης Πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρό-
 νῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα, καθ' ὃ τι δίκας δώ-
 σουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν
 γῆν τὴν ἱεράν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον.
 20 Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμμα-
 τεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦ δόγματος οὖν τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν
 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ
 25 τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τῆς
 πόλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημο-
 σθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης
 ἀντιλέγοντος, καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξε-
 λέγγοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρω-
 30 πος οὐκ ἠδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευ-
 τήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέρεται

προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπισηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ δήμου τὸ ψήφισμα, ἥδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἑμῆ (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐπέ- 5 τρειψα), καὶ τῶν πολλῶν διαφειμένων· οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι· “Τὸν δὲ ἱερομνήμονα (φησὶ) τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς Πυλαγόρας τὲς εἰσαεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφὸς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων,” εὐπρεπῶς 10 γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχυρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίνεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει· 15 “Τὸν ἱερομνήμονα (φησὶ) τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς Πυλαγόρας τοὺς αἰεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις, μὴ λόγων, μῆτε ἔργων, μῆτε δογματῶν, μῆτε πράξεως μηδεμιάς.” Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότῃρα τᾶλθηθὲς εἶπω, ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον 20 ἀκοῦσαι; τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐρῶ· τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτως τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. Οὐκ ἐᾶ μεμνηῆσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρεῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν 25 διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως (ἣς ἐγὼ ἔτ' ἂν τῆνομα εἶποιμι, μὴθ' αἰ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιτο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων), καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμ- 30 φισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρ-

σάλιον, τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπισηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις ἔτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένους ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπήγαγον. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ, καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτὸς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς
 10 μὲν ἔναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ, τοὺς τ' ἔναγεῖς κατήγαγον, καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη
 15 τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς στρατείαν ἐποίησαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐпанεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδῶν
 20 γεγεννημένης.

Ἄλλ' οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μονονοῦκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προηκόμενοι; οὐδεμίαν τοι πάποτ' ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἑώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
 25 ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην. Οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν τὸ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανὲν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι, ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή; οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμυνιάδης μὲν προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημο-
 30 σθένους δὲ ἀντέλεγε, φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος

τῆς διδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας ; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιεργήτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων, ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ; καίτοι γε πρόην ἀπειτόλμησε λέγειν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιππος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἄξιος εἶ τυχεῖν, ὃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε ; εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι ἐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' ἐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι, πρὶν καλλιεργῆσαι, 10 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερον στεφανουῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις, ἢ ὑπερορίζεσθαι ;

Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν ; οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώ- 15 πινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς ἐσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τὸν Ἄθω διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτῶν, ὁ τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν, ὅτι δεσπότης 20 ἔστιν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δυομένου, νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ; καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀρῶμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένους, οἳ 25 καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἠλευθέρωσαν ; Θῆβαι δὲ πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήσπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐδὲν ὀρθῶς βουλευσαμένη, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην ἐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ 30 δαιμονίως κτησαμένη ; Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαί-

πωροι προσαψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἀξιούντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμη-
 ρεύσοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι
 5 μέλλουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο
 πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρίς, ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ
 δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου
 μετριότητι κριθήσονται; ἢ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἢ κοινὴ
 καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρό-
 10 τερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις
 ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὖρησόμενοι, νῦν
 ἐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνίζεται,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους; καὶ
 ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης τῇ πο-
 15 λιτείᾳ προσελήλυθεν. Εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων
 Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποφαίνεται· λέγει γὰρ πού,
 παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι
 τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι.
 Λέξω δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς
 20 παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν,
 ἵν' ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐταῖς χρώμεθα.

“Πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακῆ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ,

Ὅστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀπάσθала μητιάται.

Τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων,

25 Δοιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λιμὸν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

Ἡ ὅτε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν, ἢ τόγε τεῖχος,

Ἡ νῆας ἐνὶ πόντῳ τίννυται ἐυρύοπα Ζεύς.”

Ἐὰν δὲ, περιελόντες τῆ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον, τὰς γνώ-
 μας ἐξετάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσι-
 30 ὄδου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους
 πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ

πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρπασμένοι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας.

Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυνώνδας, οὔτε Εὐρύβατος, οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὅς (ᾧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ 5 καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τὰληθῆ) τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποίησαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, 10 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. Καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν τούτῃσιν πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακεείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν οὔτος στρατηγὸς Θρασύβελος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, 15 πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεὺς, πρόξενος ὢν Θηβαίοις, Δεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς, οὐχ ἦττον Δημοσθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων ῥήτωρ, καὶ οὔτος Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκῶς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, 20 δημαγωγὸς Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεὺς, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, ῥήτωρ Πύρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος, ὅς ἐτι καὶ νῦν ζῆ· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον 25 οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε 30 διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τε-

λευταῖον, Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἔνταυθ' ἤδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἤπτετο αὐτῶν, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσήειτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις 5 διεσκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάν- 10 των μέγιστα Δημοσθένους εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππε, τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμῶντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισῶντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, (καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν;) ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος 15 ἀπεκρύνετο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας, πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βουλευέσθαι, ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται· τοῦτο 20 δὲ προλαβὼν, ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἕάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ εἶωθεν, ὡς τοὺς 25 Βοιωτοὺς, ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας, τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας· δεύτερον δὲ, τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν οἷς ἦσαν· ἀπωτέρω οἱ 30 κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν

κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν) ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα, τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν, βελεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν 5 στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ λέγω, καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην, συνείθισθε ἤδη τὰδικήματα αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ὥστε 10 οὐ θαναμάζετε. Δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τούτου μεῖζον ἀδίκημα ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ 15 τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινωσίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχοις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη 20 ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῆ, κἄν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντεῖποι, καταδουλόμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράφειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ 25 ἔφη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγείου. Μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναιῖς χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐχμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῦσι, πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιά- 30 ζοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε φέρων,

ἀναρπασθέντων τῶν ξένων, τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρ-
 σκεύω τῇ πόλει. Τί γὰρ ἂν οἴεσθε Φίλιππον ἐν
 τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὔξασθαι; οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν
 πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, χωρὶς δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τὰς
 5 ξένους διαγωνίσασθαι, ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας
 λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης πληγῆς προγεγενημένης; καὶ
 τηλικούτων κακῶν αἴτιος γεγενημένος Δημοσθένης
 οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ, εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ χρυ-
 σῶ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθήσεται, ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδ' ἰκα-
 10 νόν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ
 μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον ἀναρῶθησεται, τῷτ' ἀγα-
 νακτεῖ. Οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις, μεγάλης
 ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη, δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμ-
 φοράς.

15 Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν
 ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονῶντος
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐδ' ἀγνοῶντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνητος)
 ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας σμικρῷ
 μέρει διαγωνιεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλομένους ποιή-
 20 σασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν
 μέλλοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φοβε-
 μένων τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον εἰκότως (οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ
 ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτη-
 σεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετῆς γεγωνὺς
 25 ἀείμνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσε). τούτων
 δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως αἰσθόμενος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοὺς
 Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπτεύσας μέλλειν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖ-
 σθαι, χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόν-
 30 σεται δωροδοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰδε-
 νὸς ἀνθρώπων λέγοντος οὐθ' ὡς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς

Φίλιππον εἰρήνην, οὐθ' ὡς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς ᾔετο, τῷ κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώμνυτο τὴν Ἀθηναῖν (ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐνεπιорκεῖν Δημοσθένει), ἣ μὴν εἴ τις 5 ἔρεῖ ὡς χορὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεοφῶντος πολιτείαν, ὅς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίεσσι πολέμου (ὡς λέγεται) τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσεν. Ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ 10 ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ὑμετέροισι ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα βουλευσῆσθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθα παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδότης τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ 15 γράφειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοισι ἐδέποι' ἀντιβλέψας, πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσοντας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ὑπεραισχυνθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες, μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδοταί τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρή- 20 νης ἀπετραπόντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὄρμησαν.

Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος, ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιεργήτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε, τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι 25 τὴν τάξιν ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. Ὡς πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις αὐ- 30 τῖκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν,

ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; ἂν δ' οὗτος λέγη, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασιν (ὡς ἔοικε) καὶ ἢ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον 5 τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσατε ὄρα ἄν προϊόντα τὸν κήρυκα, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλονσαν γίνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε, πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκειοὺς τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ ταῖς 10 τραγωδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡρωϊκοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισιούσιν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ; τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἕλληνα καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθέρως, ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε (εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον), ὅτι ταύτη ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέ- 15 ρᾷ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν γίνεσθαι (ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρήτο), προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὄρφανούς, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κε- 20 κοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι “Τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἡβῆς ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῆδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ 25 ἀφήσειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν.” Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παραστησάμενος τὸν τῆς ὄρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ, ἢ τί φθέγγεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ διεξίη τὰ ἐκ τῆς ψηφίσματος προς- 30 τάγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν σιωπηθῆσεται, ἀλλὰ τὰναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος

φωνῆ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα (εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ) στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. Μὴ (πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖσι), μὴ τρόπαιον ἴστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς 10 φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον, ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερά καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔπαρεγένεσθε, ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίσατε ὄραν 15 ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφὰς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας ὅπῃ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους ἔ τοῖς τιμωρομένοις, 20 ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι· οὔτε πόλις γὰρ οὔτ' ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε 25 Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος. Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖσι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμύοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέ- 30 σθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετροφότα τοῦτον ἐάσετε πάλιν ἀπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά ;

Ἴνα δ' εἶπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ
 5 τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησαι βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν καὶ τὸς Ἑλληνας ἠργυρολόγησε. Καταγαγούσης δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς
 10 τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκίτου σωτηρίας, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριῶν ἡμιθνής ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸς πρώτους χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰᾶτε τὸ
 15 Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέση, πάλιν αὖ τερατευόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο Πausανίς, ἐπ' αἰτία δ' εὐαγ-
 20 γελίων εἰς θυσίας τὴν βελὴν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐ κινήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἀγαπᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατῶντα καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα· καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ
 25 εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἷματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὦνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα, καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας. Ἦδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ
 30 νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτῆς

ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεῖς, ἀποδράς ἐκ μέσση τῆ Κιθαι-
 ρῶνος ἤκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, οὐτ' ἐν
 πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. Καὶ τὸ πάντων
 δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰά-
 σατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος 5
 δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἶπερ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ λέ-
 γεται· ὡς γὰρ φασιν οἱ πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύ-
 σαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως
 πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀρισίων Πλαταικός, ὁ τῆ Ἀρι-
 στοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπόλου υἱός (εἶ τις ἄρα καὶ 10
 ὑμῶν γιγνώσκει)· ἔτιός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος, ἐτέρων τὴν
 ὄψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος ἔκκησε πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ
 Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὅ τι δὲ πράττων ἢ πάσχων,
 ἀμφίβολος ἢ αἰτία, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὐσχη-
 μον ἔμοι λέγειν. Οὗτος (ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκῶ) ἠγνοημένος 15
 ὅστις ποτ' ἔστι καὶ πῶς βεβιωκῶς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. Διὰ τούτῃ γραμ-
 ματα πέμπας Δημοσθένης ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀδειᾶν
 τινὰ εὔρηται καὶ διαλλαγὰς, καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν
 πεποιήται. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε, ὡς ὁμοίον ἔστι 20
 τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Εἰ γὰρ τι τρίτων ἐφρόνει Δη-
 μοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν (ὥσπερ καὶ φησι)
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι
 παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν ἕδενι φαίνεται κεχρημένος. Εἰς
 μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι καθε- 25
 στηκῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀκατασκεύων αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων
 ὄντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἠκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περ-
 σῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ στρα-
 τιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινὴν συμμαχίαν
 προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους αὐτῷ κινδύνους. 30
 Εἰπάς τινὰ ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημοσθενες, ἢ ἔγρα-

ψάς τι ψήφισμα ; βούλει σε θῶ καὶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ
 χρήσασθαι τῷ σαντοῦ τρόπῳ (καίτοι ρητορικὴν δει-
 λίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς ἐκ ἀναμένει) ; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πά-
 ση τῇ δυνάμει Δαρειῖος κατεβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξαν-
 5 δρος ἦν ἀπειλημμένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεής,
 ὡς ἔφησθα σὺ, ἀντίκα μάλ' αὖ ἤμελλον (ὡς ἦν ὁ
 παρὰ σοῦ λόγος) συμπατηθήσασθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περ-
 σικῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλιν οὐκ ἐχώ-
 ρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἅς ἐξηρητημένος ἐκ τῶν δα-
 10 κτύλων περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον
 ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων
 ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων, εἴ τι πταῖσμα
 συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας οὐ-
 δὲν, ἀλλ' εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλεσ καλλίω. Ὑπερ-
 15 βὰς τοίνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα, ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστη-
 κότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἐπέ-
 τυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ Κόρρυαγον
 στρατιώτας, Ἡλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλλοντο καὶ
 Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδία πᾶ-
 20 σα πλὴν Μεγάλῃς πόλεως, αὕτη δ' ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου
 δεῖν πάσης μεθεισῆκει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρό-
 νον συνῆγε στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον ἄδηλον ἦν.
 25 Ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσαι, ᾧ Δημόσθενες, τί
 ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔπραξας καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔλεγες, καὶ εἰ
 βούλει, παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς.
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην ἔχω
 σοι, ἃ δὲ τότε ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νυνὶ λέξω. Οὐ μέμνη-
 30 σθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς
 ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ᾧ σιδήρειοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι ;

ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν “ Ἀμπελοργῆσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετιμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμοῖδαφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ, τινὲς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι.” Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ᾧ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλω περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ “ Ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι, ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Πεῦρραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναί.” Σὺ γὰρ ἂν κόμην ἀποσήσαιο; σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοις μὴ 10 ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν, ὅπου κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθεσθήσῃ, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις· ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῆ, προσποιήσῃ, καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐπιγράψεις· ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ φόβος 15 τις, ἀποδράσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ θαρῤῥήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφανοῦσθαι.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστίν. Ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέψητε, ἔξαπατηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν 20 φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκ ἔξαπατηθήσεσθε· ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. Ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιούμαι ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω ποῖόν τινα εἰκὸς ἔσιν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρω- 25 πον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτὸν μὴ ὁποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν.

Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογήσειν τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐλεύθερον 30 αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς, ἵνα μὴ δια

- τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενῆς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις, οἳ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ (τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον) μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῆ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν· τρίτον, σῶφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρῆ πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῆ κατὰ τῆ δῆμος· τέταρτον, εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν, καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην αἰεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου· πέμπτον, ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλίπη τὸν δῆμον. Τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν, πάντα τὰναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει, ὃ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.
- 20 Τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι)· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῶ, ἐγὼ φράσω. Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων, ὅστις προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον τούτο, 25 φυγὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο, θανάτῃ καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, καὶκεῖ λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὠνομασμένους Κήπους, καὶ γαμεῖ 30 γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νῆ Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ, Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γένος· ἐξ ἧς γίγνονται

αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο, ἃς ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν
 χρημάτων ἀποστείλας συνώκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὄτω-
 δήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι, τὴν δ' ἑτέ-
 ραν ἔγημε παριδῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημο-
 σθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περιεργος καὶ συ- 5
 κοφάντης ἔτος γεγένηται Δημοσθένης. Οὐκᾶν ἀπὸ
 μὲν τοῦ πάππυ τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ
 δήμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνω-
 τε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης βάρβαρος ἑλληνί-
 ζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώ- 10
 ριὸς ἔστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς
 ἔστιν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πα-
 τρῶα καταγελάστως προέμενος· ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ
 ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς
 ἀντιδίκοις, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· πλεῖστον δ' ἐκ 15
 τῆς πόλεως εἰληφῶς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα περιεποιή-
 σατο. Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυ-
 κε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν·
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιε-
 γένητο. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον ἐκ ἐκ τῶν ιδί- 20
 ων προσόδων πορίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύ-
 νων. Περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ λόγῳ δύναμιν πῶς
 πέφυκε; δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιῶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ
 κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιΐα,
 ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἢ τούτῳ πέπρακται· 25
 ἤδη γὰρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλη-
 σίον αἰσχρὰ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. Ἐπειτα τί συμ-
 βαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοὶ, τὰ δ' ἔργα
 φαῦλα. Πρὸς δ' ἀνδρίαν βραχὺς μοι λείπεται λό-
 γος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι, ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ 30
 συνῆδείτε αὐτῷ, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρέσχεν·

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις,
καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνισε, λοιπὸν ὑπομνήσαι τὰς περὶ τέτων
κειμένους νόμους. Ὁ γὰρ Σόλων, ὁ παλαιὸς νομο-
θέτης, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις ᾤετο δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι
5 τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν καὶ
τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί.
Καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑμῶν, εἴ εἰσι φύσεως
γραφαί· εἰσὶ· τίνος ἔνεκα; ἴν' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, τὰς
ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
10 πολεμίους, ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
ὑπάρχη. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστράτευτον
καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν, ἔξω τῶν
περιῤῥανθηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει, καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ
στεφανοῦσθαι, οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτε-
15 λῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κελεύεις
ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ
προσήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγωδοῖς εἰς τὴν ὄρ-
χίστραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ
δειλίαν προδεδωκότα; ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς
20 ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐκεῖνο μέμνησθε, ὅταν φῆ δη-
μοτικὸς εἶναι, θεωρεῖτ' αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ
τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ τίς φησιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τίς
ἔστιν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως
25 ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ
μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόνοὺς ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ
τοὺς εἰκῆ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὐθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι
χάριν ὑμῖν εἶσονται, οὔτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα
ἐπανορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μὴ
30 ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν
ἐσχάτην ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,

μεγάλα τούτων οἶμαι σημεία δείξειν ὑμῖν. *Εἰ γάρ*
τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσῃ, πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα δοκεῖ
ἢ πόλις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προ-
γόνων, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσατε ἐπὶ τῶν προγό-
νων· ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυ-
5 νί; τότε μὲν διαφέροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶ κατα-
δεέστεροι· δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα
καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλεί-
ους ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ἡμῖν
καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα τίμιον, νῦν δ' ἤδη κατα-
10 πέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιεῖσθε. Οὐκὲν ἄτοπον οὐ-
τωςὶ διαλογιζομένοις τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νῦν πλείους
εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἢ
νῦν ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι,
15 τότε δ' ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω δι-
δάσκειν. Οἴεσθέ ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθελῆσαί
τινα ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ
τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων, παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι
τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, εἰ ὁ στέφανος ἐδίδοδο μὴ τῷ
20 κρατίστῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ; εἰδείς ἂν ποτ' ἠθέ-
λησεν ἐπασκεῖν. Νῦν δ', οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ σπάνιον
καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀείμνη-
στον ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσί τινες τὰ σώματα πα-
ρακαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαιπωρίας ὑπο-
25 μείναντες διακινδυνεύειν. Ὑπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς
αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγνωσθῆτας πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, κἀκεῖνο
ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ
ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε, πολλοὺς ἀγω-
νιστὰς ἔξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ
30 τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζησθε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς

φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικροῦ
 σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. Πότερον ὑμῖν
 ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὁ στρατηγή-
 σας ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην
 5 ἐνικάτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὰς τάξεις λιπών; Μιλ-
 τιάδης δὲ, ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τὸς βαρβάρους
 νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα
 τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, Ἀριστείδης θ' ὁ δίκαιος
 ἐπικαλέμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δη-
 10 μοσθένει; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμ-
 πίους, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι
 μεμνηῆσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀν-
 δρῶν. Ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 λόγῳ, εἴ που γέγραπταί τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 15 στεφανῶσαι. Ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; ἔκ, ἀλλὰ
 μεγαλόφρων, καὶ κεῖνοί γε οἱ μὴ οὕτω τετιμημένοι,
 τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ὄντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμ-
 μασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθό-
 των, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέ-
 20 ρας ἀθάνατος οὕσα διαμένει· δωρεὰς δὲ τινὰς ἐλάμ-
 βανον, ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.

Ἦσαν τινὲς κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς, οἱ πολλὴν
 ὑπομείναντες πόνον καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ
 Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· ἔτοι
 25 δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι, τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ
 ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδοκει,
 τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἐρμῆς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν
 Ἐρμῶν, ἐφῆκε δὲ μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ
 ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου
 30 δοκῆ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ
 αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε· ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ

ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν,

“Ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων
 Παισὶν, ἐπ’ Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοᾶς,
 Λιμὸν τ’ αἰθῶνα κρατερόν τ’ ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα,
 Πρωῖτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.”

5

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ,

“Ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε δῶκαν,
 Ἄντ’ εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.
 Μᾶλλον τις τὰδ’ ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
 Ἄμφι ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.”

10

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῆ,

“Ἐκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλης ἄμ’ Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς
 Ἠγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἀμπεδίον,
 Ὄν ποθ’ Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων
 Κοσμήτωρα μάχης ἕξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.
 Οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
 Κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ’ ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠγορέης.”

15

Ἔστι περ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ
 τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Προσέλθετε οὖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν 20
 ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ
 ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Τί οὖν ἔστιν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν
 Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται· τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατη-
 γός; οὕτως μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε 25
 ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται· πῶς;
 ἐκ ἤτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ἤτησεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ δήμος
 οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν
 αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρα-
 τιώτας. Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρῷω παρὰ τὸ βουλευ- 30
 τήριον, ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα

τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ
 ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ
 Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε
 δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δέ-
 5 ναι χιλίας δραχμᾶς (καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἑλαττον ἢ δέκα
 δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει σεφα-
 νοῦσθαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ
 χρυσῶ (τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τί-
 μιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται)· καὶ
 10 οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ πράξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν
 βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς ἐπολιορ-
 κήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσ-
 ἔβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβῆσι Φυλὴν, ἐχ' ὅσοι τὴν τάξιν
 ἔλιπον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. Ὅτι
 15 δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕᾶΣ ΤΟΓ'Σ ἈΠὸ
 ΦΥΛΗ'Σ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὁ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημο-
 σθένει τῷ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

20

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγα-
 γόντων τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. Εἰ τῶτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκεῖ-
 νο αἰσχροῦς· εἰ ἐκεῖνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, ἔτος
 ἀνάξιος ὢν στεφανοῦται.

25

Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς
 εἰ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων
 ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα φήσει τὸν πύκτην
 Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν
 παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 30 ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς ἀγνοῶντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
 πύκταις ἔστιν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιῶσι

στεφανῶσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἕνεκα στεφανῶνται. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, ὅταν τὴν ἀνάδρῃσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιῆται πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνας. Μὴ ἔν ἡμῖν ὡς Παταικίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι διέξιθι, ἀλλ' ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσι.

10

ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

“ Τὴσδ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα σεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους
Θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν
Ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.”

15

“ Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τὰς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. Ἐναυλον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τότε πᾶσιν, ὅτι τῆνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη, ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖλον. Καὶ γὰρ τι ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆ ἐμαντῆ 20 ἐπυνθανόμην (ὅς ἔτη βιούσ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῆ πόλει), ὃς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει ἐπὶ σχολῆς· ἔφη γὰρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίλοι γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ 25 ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον· τί γὰρ ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν (ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν) οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιούντο, ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἦσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν 30 αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν

γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ ἠλίσκοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες ἕκ εἰ πάντας παραπηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν παραλλάξαιεν. Τὸ
 5 δὲ νυνὶ γινόμενον πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταί, ὡς περ ἐπαθὴν ἢ ἀλλότριόν τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι, πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν.

Ἦδη δ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχρὸν
 10 ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε· μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μὲν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταί, περὶ τούτων
 15 ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν· λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἔάν ἄρα ποθ' ἀψηται τοῦ πράγματος, ἕκ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν
 20 ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφυγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλεῖ-
 25 στα πάντων γεγραφῶς ψηφίσματα ἑδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφυγε παρανόμων, καλῶς (οἶμαι) σεμνυόμενος. Ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἑξαμαρτάνοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἐκεῖθεν
 30 δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράφατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειρία,

γράφαντά γε στεφανοῦν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἕνα τῶν
συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἶλε, νεωστὶ
γεγεννημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογί-
ζοντο οἱ δικασταί· ἤγοῦντο γὰρ, ὡσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς
φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν, 5
οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους
γράφοντά τι. Ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον
γίγνεται· οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν
τὰς σιτήσεις τινὲς εὐρημένων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐξαι-
τοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς 10
ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γάρ
τις ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει, ἢν
οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς
παρανόμοις γράφουσι, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν, ὑφ' ἧς
τετίμηται. Τίς ἔν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ συνη- 15
γόρω δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι, ἐγὼ λέξω. Εἰς τρία μέ-
ρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρανόμων
εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ὔδωρ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρα-
τίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὔδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι 20
καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρῶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ
τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῆν τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρί-
τον ὔδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς
ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμῇ
τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖ- 25
ται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ,
ὄρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν ἔτε
αἰτῆσαι οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ, οὐτ' αἰτηθέντα ἕτερος
δοῦναι. Κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτοὺς, ἐάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν
πρώτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν, ἀπαν- 30
τῶν εἰς τὴν τιμῆσιν,

Ὅπως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀλίγον δέω
 εἶπεῖν, ὡς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς
 μόνον τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγό-
 ρῳ συνηγόρου παρέχεσθαι, μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν
 5 παρανόμων φεύγοντι· οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δί-
 καιον, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις.
 Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμε-
 θα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν, ὃ
 διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν πα-
 10 ρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ
 σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι
 νόμοι. Ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας
 κατάβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν;
 ὅταν δὲ ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρα-
 15 καλῆς κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων,
 κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύ-
 εις τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων,
 ἐγὼ ἔρω. Ἐπειδὴν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῦ Κτησιφῶν
 20 διεξέλεθ' πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐ-
 τῷ προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβη καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται,
 ὑπομνήσας αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν,
 καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι, εἰάν
 δὲ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνους
 25 ἐθέτετε ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δι-
 काίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Ἐάν δ' ὑπερ-
 πηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρα-
 καλῆ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄν-
 30 θρωπον, οἴομενον ρήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν,
 μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὅς

ἂν ἐπανερομένον Κτησιφῶντος “Εἰ καλέσω Δημοσθένην;” πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ “κάλει, κάλει·” καλῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ σαντὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς.

Ἄν δ’ ἄρα ὑμῖν δόξῃ ἀκούειν, ἀξιῶσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὅνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγόρηκα· ὧδέ πως (ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς)· οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τῷ Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων ἐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄφθονα δῆπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν (ἢ πάντων γ’ ἂν εἶην ἀπορώτατος)· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἀπέδειξα ἀπαγορευόντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ρήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν, οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον, οὐδὲ προσ-15 εγγράψαντα “Ἐπειδὴν δὴ τὰς εὐθύναις,” ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. Δεύτερον δ’ ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς 20 διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ρήτωρ ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως, καὶ τὸν τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν 25 τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀναρρήσιν γίνεσθαι, ἐδ’ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγωδῶν εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν, μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων λέγω. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιῶσατε 30 ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶ-

τον, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον
 δὲ (μέγιστον ὧν λέγω) τὸ ὡς οὐδὲ ἀξιός ἐστι τῆς
 δωρεᾶς. Ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ
 περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελόμενος ὡς
 5 ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον,
 μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα τῷ ἐσὶ
 δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαυθίς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς
 τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον
 εἰπεῖν, ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην
 10 ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. Ὡσπερ
 οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τὰς πύκτας περὶ
 τῆς στάσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐ-
 τῷ τῷ λόγου μάχεσθε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μὴ ἔατε
 15 αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιίστασθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει,
 εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους,
 καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.
 Ἄλλ' ἃ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
 20 τὴν ἀκροάσιν ποιῆσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι
 προειπεῖν. Ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαν-
 τιοτόμον καὶ διατετηρηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν· οὗτος
 κλαίει μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιιορκεῖ δὲ πάν-
 των προχειρότατα ἀνθρώπων· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι
 25 δὲ, εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος, τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λοι-
 δορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγαρχικούς ὑπ' αὐ-
 τῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους ἤκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ
 κατηγοροῦ βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ
 φεύγοντος. Ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα λέγη, πρὸς μὲν τὰς σα-
 30 σιαστικούς λόγους ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, ὅτι,
 “Ὡ Δημόσθενες, εἴ σοι ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς

φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαρόντες, οὐκ ἂν ποτε δημοκρατία κατέστη· νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγξάμενοι, ΜΗ΄ ΜΝΗΣΙ-ΚΑΚΕΙΝ· σὺ δὲ ἔλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως.”

“Ὅταν δ’ ἐπίορκος ὢν, εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὄρκων πίσειν καταφυγγάνῃ, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι, αἰεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ’ ὄρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεύεσθαι, δυοῖν θάτερον 10 ὑπάρξαι δεῖ (ὢν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον), ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς, ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ “Ποῖ καταφύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας; 15 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπῃ ἀναπήσομαι,” ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ, “ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; ἢ πρὸς ποίαν συμμαχῶν παρασκευὴν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευ- 20 σαι, ἅπαντες ὀρῶμεν· ἐκλιπῶν μὲν τὸ ἄσυ, ἐκ οἰκεῖς, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαντοῦ ἀνανδρία τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκῆματα.” “Ὀλοῦς δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἢ κραυγὴ; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς 25 φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος; σὺ δ’ οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος, οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐσὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπυδῆ; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεά- 30 τρω παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ

δῆμος, ἢ τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος, ἐπὶ τῇ
 αὐτῆς ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, παρελ-
 θόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰπεῖν· “ Ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν
 5 ἀποδοκιμάζω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίνεταί· οὐ γὰρ
 δεῖ ἐφ’ οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τέτοις
 ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι.” Ἄλλ’, οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν
 εἶποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκῶς μετ’ ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ
 λέξεις, εἶποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετὴν. Οὐ
 10 γὰρ δὴ, μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φο-
 βηθήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος
 καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχῶν τῶν ἀριστείων,
 οἷκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσηται· ὅς τοσῶτον
 καταγελαῖ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μια-
 15 ρὰν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν ἔτος παρὰ
 πάντας τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις
 κατατέμμηκε· καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε, τραύμα-
 τος ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφόμενος· καὶ κατακε-
 κονδύλισαι, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἴχνη
 20 τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ
 κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώ-
 μην, βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβή-
 σομαι (ἵνα καὶ πείρα ὑμῶν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς
 25 σφόδρα πονηροὺς, καὶ ἂν μή τις προείπη, διαγιγνώ-
 σκειν)· ὁ δ’ ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων
 αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τῷ ἐρωῶ. Περιέρχον-
 ται τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας,
 καὶ λόγους οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησι-
 30 φῶν ἐπὶ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζει γὰρ
 δόξειν ἰδιώτης εἶναι), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους

ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρῆεῖν φησι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφώντος πονηρίαν καὶ προνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὲ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν, μη-
5 δαμῶς ὑμεῖς, οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπολύσητε.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέως βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην, ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται, πολλὰ δὲ 10 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ ταύτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ. Οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν (ὡς ἔοικε) δεινὸς δημοισργὸς λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, ἢ εἴ τινος δημηγορίας εἶρηκα, 15 τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει, καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ (ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυνκοφάντητος παραλίπηται), καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται· καὶ κατὰ τῆςδε τῆς 20 κρίσεως, εὐθύς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νῆ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκόλυον, οὐδ' ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιών, ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐξήλωκα, 30 οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι· οὔτε τοὺς εἰρη-

μένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἑμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βου-
 λοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτω δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην
 ἂν ζῆν. Τὴν δ' ἑμὴν σιωπὴν, ᾧ Δημόσθενες, ἢ τοῦ
 βίβ μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ,
 5 καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχροῦς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ
 καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. Σὺ δ', οἶμαι, λαβὼν
 μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας· λέγεις δὲ ἔχ
 ὁπόταν σοι δοκῆ οὐδ' ἂ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν οἱ μι-
 10 σθοδότηι σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἀλα-
 ζονεύομενος ἂ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος.
 Ἐπιτιμῶ γὰρ ἢ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γρα-
 φῆ, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με φῆς ἀπενευκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου
 15 ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι,
 οὐπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Πανσανίαν ἐνύπνιον ἐωρακότος,
 οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Ἑβραν νύκτωρ διει-
 λεγμένου. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρῳ; εἴ γε μὴ ταυτό ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθέ-
 20 νης εἶδομεν. Ἐπιτιμῶς δέ μοι, εἰ μὴ συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ
 διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν
 ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἶει λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς μεταφέρων οὐκ
 ἐκ δημοκρατίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρας πολιτείας. Ἐν μὲν
 γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυ-
 25 ναστεύων κατηγορεῖ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βε-
 λόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ· καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου
 λέγειν σημεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῷ συμφέ-
 ροντος, ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν πα-
 ραλείπειν ἡμέραν, ἐργαζομένου καὶ μισθαροῦντος.
 30 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, μηδὲ τῶν
 ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν καταφεύγῃς

ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπιλή-
 σμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζῃ. Τὰ
 μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἠσεβημένα σοι, καὶ
 τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων
 ἐγγεγεννημένων, ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐξηλέγχου, 5
 ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς
 τριῆρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγματα τίς ἂν
 ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος δύναιτ' ἂν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ
 τῶν τριακοσίων νεῶν, καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίως
 ἐπιστάτην τάξαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμῶ 10
 ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναντῶν τριηράρχος
 ὑφηρημένος, πλεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀφανίζων
 ναυτικὸν ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ
 ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας, 15
 ὥστε τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς ἐπεξιοῦσι, πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φί-
 λιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δὲ
 τινὰς ἐμποδίζεις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως καιροὺς, αἰεὶ τὸ
 παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελλό- 20
 μενος. Οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὠρείτου
 κατεσκευάσας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγο-
 ράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα διεστρέβλωσας τῇ
 σαυτοῦ χειρὶ, γράψας αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι; καὶ 25
 τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας, καίτοι παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὠρεῶ
 κατήγου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέξης ἔφαγες καὶ
 ἔπιες καὶ ἔσπεισας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες, ἄνδρα
 φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος. Καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν
 ἀπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθῆεις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κλη- 30
 θεῖς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἠρνήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπε-

κρίνου, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι
 περιέστησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς
 πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς
 τραπέζης. Ἐπιστολὰς δὲ σιγῶ ψευδεῖς καὶ κατασκό-
 5 πων συλλήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀνυπάρκτοις,
 ὡς ἐμοῦ μετὰ τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει νεωτερίζειν βουλο-
 μένου. Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτῶν με (ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι)
 μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς, ὅστις τῶ νοσοῦντι
 μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλευόμενος, τελευ-
 10 τήσαντος δὲ αὐτῆ, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔννατα, διεξίει πρὸς
 τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς ἂν ἐγένετο.
 Σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτῶς, τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς
 τοιοῦτος, ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναιτο,
 τοὺς δὲ καιροῦς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀπο-
 15 δοῖτο, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρονῶντας κωλύει διαβάλλων συμ-
 βουλευεῖν, ἀποδράς δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλὼν, ἀξιοῖ στεφα-
 νοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῆ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς μηδὲν,
 πάντων δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονὼς, ἐπερωτῶ δὲ
 20 τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἐκείνων
 τῶν καιρῶν, ὅτ' ἐνῆν σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ
 ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν; ἀποκρίνοιντο δὴ τὸ πάν-
 των τελευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης ἐκ ἐσχο-
 λάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
 25 σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ
 ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς
 αἰτεῖς καταγέλασον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν πόλιν ποι-
 ῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

Καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεὸς τὸς Ὀλυμπίους, (ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθά-
 30 νομαι Δημοσθένην λέγειν) ἐφ' ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν
 ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα· ἀφομοιοῖ γὰρ μου τὴν φύσιν

ταῖς Σειρηῆσιν, ὡς ἔοικε· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μεσοκίην· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑμῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. 5
 Καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέπειν ὑγοῦμαι περὶ ἑμοῦ λέγειν (τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰσχροὺν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδειῆσαι), εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ρηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ, μεγάλα μὲν τῇ 10 πόλει κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύν-οιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὄρα δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούσ- 15 σιν ὡς διώκηκεν. "Ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκεείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγη, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; οὗ τὴν γλώτταν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀυλῶν, εἰάν τις ἀφέλη, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἐστι. 20

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ πυθέσθαι πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέψαντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφίην· πότερον ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; ἀλλ' ἕδεμία πάποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γραφῆσ 25 οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρα εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθύνη βίε, εἰ τῷτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λυπηρὸν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπέμπλατο ἡ ὄρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην 30 ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους

πολιτευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀσεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι
 γίγνεσθε, ἔτος δὲ κηρυχθήσεται; καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν
 τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισιόντων,
 ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τὸν Θεοσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 5 νων σεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι
 φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἄναδρον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ συκοφάν-
 την· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιῆτον ἄνθρωπον σεφανῶ-
 τε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττε-
 σθαι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ ἐνδοξα καὶ λαμ-
 10 πρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνετίθεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ
 ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς
 φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶεται δεῖν
 ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περιθεῖναι
 τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ φασὶ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἔσῃ,
 15 καλῶς ποιοῦντες· ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης
 ἐγκαταλελειφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέ-
 ναι; καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων γραφαὶς ἀλι-
 σκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ πολιτευόμε-
 20 νον σύνιστε, στεφανώσετε; καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τὰς
 ἐκ Διονυσίων, εἰ μὴ δικαίως τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους χο-
 ροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν
 κριταὶ καθεστηκότες, ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς
 ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τὰς νόμους οὐδ' ὀλίγοις
 25 καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε;
 ἔπειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτῆς
 ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ πεποικῶς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ῥήτο-
 ρα. Ἄνηρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένη,
 νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἑτέρῳ ταῦτα
 30 παραδῶ, καταλέλυκεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν.
 Ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμωμοκῶς δικάζει, συμπα-

ρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ (δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ, οἶμαι, γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα), ἢ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἀδελφος γεγένηται· ἢ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανῆς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφοτέρα καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν 5 πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. "Οτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προέσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρὰ, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς φητόρων πονηρῶν ἀμα καὶ 10 τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχῆμεν. Πρῶτερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, αἱ ῥαδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον· ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. "Ἐπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε κατέλυσαν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τριά- 15 κοντα ἐγένοντο, καὶ πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, πρὶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι, ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τὸς προσήκοντας παραγενέσθαι. Οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαν- 20 τες ἀποπέμψετε τὸς νῦν ἐπηρεμένους; ἢ μέμνησθ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε πρῶτερον ἐπέθετο τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει πρὶν ἂν μείζω τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ;

Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀναλογισαίμην ἐναντίον ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ 25 ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις (ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω), ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου· τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξαιργάσθαι καλῶς, τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων 30 αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρα-

κώσαντα χρητὰ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς τάφρους, οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δὲ ἤξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος 5 τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν, ὡς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὸν κόμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἀψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ 10 τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τὰς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθένει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοῶντας ἑξαπατᾶς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. Ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν 15 τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, οἷοι λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθένει περιτιθείς. Ἡλίκον δ' ἔστι τὸ ἀλαζόνεμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημεῖῳ διδάξαι. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἔ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, κατέπεμψε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν ἣ 20 τά τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδευτῶς διελέχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “Ἐγὼ (φησὶν) ὑμῖν χρυσίον ἔ δώσω, μή με αἰτεῖτε, ἔ γὰρ 25 λήψεσθε.” ἔτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς, ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰτούντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο· ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα 30 συμμάχων· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐξειργάζετο. Σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων

ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς ἡμῖν ἀεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσι-
 ωπῆς, ἃ προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέ-
 ρησας. Οὐδὲ ἔνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων, ἔνεκα πέντε
 ταλάντων οἱ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ πα-
 5 ρέδοσαν; διὰ ἑννέα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, πάντων
 Ἀρχάδων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων
 ὄντων βοηθεῖν, ἢ πρᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται; σὺ δὲ πλου-
 τεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σαντοῦ χορηγεῖς· καὶ τὸ
 κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, 10
 οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐσὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆ-
 σαι. Εἰ γὰρ τολμήσειε Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην
 παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἔτος δ' ἀναβάς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐγκωμιάζοι, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ 15
 ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. Ὅπως γὰρ τὸς μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας
 ἀγαθὸς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἂν τὸς
 καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγῳσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν
 δ' ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκῶν; 20

Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, ἔαν
 σωφρονῆς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποιῆσαι δὲ, ὧ Κτησιφῶν, διὰ
 σαντοῦ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε
 σκήψῃ, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτο-
 πόν σοι συμβαίνοι, εἰ πρόην μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας 25
 πρεσβευτῆς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέ-
 ρα, χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσθησόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 Μολοττιῶν βασιλείῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ
 οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. Ἐπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν
 ἀλλοτρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γρά- 30
 πας δὲ μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογήσῃ; ἢ τοιῶτός

ἔσιν ὃν γέγραφας σεφανῆσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεισθαι
 ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἂν μὴ τίς σοι συνείπη;
 ἐπερώτησον δὴ τὰς δικαστὰς, εἰ ἐγίνωσκον Χαβρίαν
 καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πυθῆ παρ' αὐτῶν
 5 διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔση-
 σαν; ἅπαντες γὰρ ἅμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται, ὅτι Χα-
 βρία μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικρά-
 τει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμο-
 θέῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλου τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ
 10 ἄλλοις, ὧν ἑκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλε-
 μον ἔργα πέπρακται. Δημοσθένει δ' ἀντεροῦ διὰ
 τί δώσετε; ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλὸς, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν
 ἔλιπε. Καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμήσετε, ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀτιμώσετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τε-
 15 λευτήσαντας; οὓς νομίζεθ' ὄρῳν σχετλιάζοντας, εἰ
 οὗτος στεφανωθήσεται. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινὸν, ὃ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους
 καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἐὰν ἐμ-
 πεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ τινα, ὑπερορίζομεν, καὶ ἐὰν τις
 20 αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν
 χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν, Δημοσθένην δὲ, ὃ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν παννυστάτην
 ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς
 τιμήσετε· οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ τελευτήσαντες,
 25 ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίνονται, ὄρῳντες τῆς ἀρε-
 τῆς ἄθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ μνήμην
 ἐπιλείπουσαν.

Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐὰν ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι
 πρὸς ποῖον παράδειγμα χρῆσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖ-
 30 σθαι, τί ἀποκρινεῖσθε; εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ πα-
 λαῖστραι, εἰδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα, οὐδ' ἡ μουσικὴ μόνον

παιδεύει τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δη-
 μόσια κηρύγματα. Κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ,
 ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ
 εὐνοίας, ἄνθρωπος ἀσχήμων ὢν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυ-
 ρός; ὁ δέ γε νεώτερος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν διεφθάρη· δίκην 5
 τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ πορνοβοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτησι-
 φῶν; οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πεπαιδευνταί· τὰναντία τις
 ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθὼν
 οἴκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν; ὁ δέ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθε-
 ται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοουθετεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη δικαί- 10
 ῶς ὀνομάζεται. Ὡς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπο-
 λογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
 ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί ἐδικάζετε. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη δόξει ἢ πόλις εἶναι, 15
 ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἦ ὁ κηρυττόμενος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ
 τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀναν-
 δρία προσεικασθῆναι. Πῶς ἔν ἂν τις τὴν τοιαύτην
 αἰσχύνην ἐκφύγοι; εἰάν τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας
 τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους 20
 ὄντας τοῖς ἡθεσι, φυλάξησθε· ἢ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ τὸ
 τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνου-
 σι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ
 οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες. "Ὅταν οὖν λά-
 βητε ῥήτορα ξενικῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν 25
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν κε-
 λεύετε καὶ τὸν λόγον (ὥσπερ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν
 κτημάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι) εἰς βίον ἀξιώ-
 χρεων καὶ τρόπον σῶφρονα· ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυ-
 ρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς 30
 δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἤδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς.

Ἡ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παρορᾶται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ αἱ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνεῖνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἐξαρνοῦνται πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀλλήλοις παραναγινώσκουσιν· καὶ παρακαλεύονται ὑμῖν οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυ-
 10 τῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἕτεροι δ' αἰτῆσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως ὄντες· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὡσπερ παραγεγηρακῶς ἢ παρανοίας ἑαλωκῶς, αὐτὸ μόνον τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων
 15 ἑτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. Ἐπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐράνων τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι.

Ὅτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. Ἐγένετό τις (ἄχθομαι δὲ μεμνημένος πολλάκις
 20 τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν μόνον εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας, ὡς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος ἀνθημερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βελῆς θανάτῳ ἐζημιώθη. Ἄλλος δ' ἰδιώτης ἐκπλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάδρωος ἤνεγκε,
 25 πρόην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλη, καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἂν, ἢ ἀπέθανεν. Ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νυνὶ γιγνόμενον. Ἀνὴρ ρήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως·
 30 οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι οἶεται δεῖν. Οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς κοινήν

τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰν, ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς ληστήν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. Ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλή- 5
νων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς· δόξετε δὲ, εἰ μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον τούτου πράξῃτε, ἀπολύσετε 10
τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.

Μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας τῆς πόλεως βεβλήσεσθε· καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε, ἀλλὰ κρίνετε· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ ἀξιολογωτέρους ἄνδρας ἀπόθεσθε. Καὶ μὴ 15
μόνον τοῖς ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλευσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει· πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται, ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, οἳ ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ; ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, οὐχ ὅς ἀγρίους κυνηγε- 20
τῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελούμενος διατετέλεκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τῆς τὰς ἐσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται.

Ἄλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζάντιον μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέ- 25
σθαι τῶν Φιλίππου, ἀποστήσῃ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, ἐκπληξῆσαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας (οἶεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθὸν τρέφοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει), ὅταν 30
δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοι-

νωνους τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῆ, ὑπο-
λαμβάνετε ὄρκον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὗ νῦν ἐστηκὼς
ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων
ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας. Σόλωνα
5 μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν,
σωφρόνως (ὡςπερ προσῆκεν αὐτῷ) δεόμενον ὑμῶν
μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλεί-
ονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων. Ἄρι-
10 σείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν
(οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆ-
μος) σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπη-
λακισμῷ, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα, εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ οἱ
μὲν πατέρες ὑμῶν, Ἄρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην, κομίσαν-
15 τα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδη-
μήσαντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι,
ἐξεκέρουξαν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς
Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὐ κο-
20 μίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαν-
τα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτημένον, χρυσῷ σεφάνῳ μέλλε-
τε στεφανοῦν. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαρα-
θῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αὐ-
τοὺς τοὺς τάφους τῶν προγόνων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε
25 ἀνασενάξαι, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς
Ἑλλήσιν ἀντιπρᾶξαι στεφανωθήσεται;

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἔν, ᾧ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύννε-
σις καὶ παιδεία, ἣ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ
αἰσχρὰ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς
30 καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγορήκα, εἶπον ὡς
ἐβουλόμην· εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. Ἑμεῖς

δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρα-
λειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ὑΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ἢ Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ἙΠΙΘΕΣΙΣ.

ΤΕΙΧΟΣ μὲν ὁ ρήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προῦλάετο, τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρραγέστερόν τε καὶ βέλτιον, τὴν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὖνοϊαν, καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὀχυρώσας, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τιμῇ συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τῇ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποιήτον περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ τῆ πόλει συνεβάλετο. Πεπονηκότες γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτὸ, ἤρθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἑκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ψιλὴν παρέχεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. Εἷς τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ρήτωρ γενόμενος, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσένεγκε τῇ χρειᾷ· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεισε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει.

Ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὖνοϊαν ταύτην ἢ βουλὴν, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμέψατο στεφάνῳ χροσῷ· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιοούντων. Κτησιφῶν δ' ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν, ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῷ τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὓς ἢ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε, καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνεπιεῖν τὸν κήρυκα, ὅτι στεφανῶν Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανίεα ἢ πόλις, ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν. Ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἢ τιμὴ θαυμαστῆ, διὸ καὶ ὁ φθόνος αὐτοῦ ἤψατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνίχθη παρανόμων γραφῆ.

Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἔχθρὸς ἦν τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων, ἀρχόντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύειν, τοὺς ὑπεύθυνους μὴ στεφανοῦν· καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρεχόμενος τὸν λέγοντα, ἐὰν μὲν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στεφανῶν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν ἐσφάνον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἢ βουλῇ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξείναι. Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ρήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει.

Καὶ τάξει γὰρ ταύτῃ τῆς κατηγορίας Δισχίνης κέχρηται, πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου, καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἤξιασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τίθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. Καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιτίθει διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἤτοι νόμου μέρος, ὡς φησὶν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο ψηφίσῃται.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελώ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐσὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας 5 τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τὰς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίους καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, 10 τὸ “Ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι.” Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδὲν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως εἶσαι 15 χρῆσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Δισχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα. Ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν 20 εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ τίτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφὴν·

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν
 ἔδὲν, ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου· οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας
 με κατηγορεῖ. "Ἐτερον δ' ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
 ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λαιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν
 5 ἀκούειν ἠδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι·
 τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἠδονὴν τούτω δέδο-
 ται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί.
 Καὶ μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγ-
 μένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορη-
 10 μένα δόξω, οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι·
 ἂν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω,
 πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ.
 Πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν·
 ὅτι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν
 15 αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὃ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα
 ἐνστησάμενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πάντας ἂν
 ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοί τε
 καὶ Κτησιφῶντι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἀξιὸν σπερδῆς
 20 ἐμοί. Πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν
 ἐστὶ καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τέττο
 συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ
 φιλανθρωπίας ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τέττων μέγιστόν
 ἐστὶ.

25 Περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουῦ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ
 καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν, ἀκούσαί μου περὶ
 τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ
 οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὃ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων
 εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικὸς, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράφαι
 30 κυρίως ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὸς δικάζοντας
 ὑμᾶς ὁμωμόκεναι· οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γέ μοι

φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὄρων ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, ἐκ ἓνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων, καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕσερον δίκαια εὐ-5 νοϊκῶς προσδέξηται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλον δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμέ-10 νων, βούλομαι, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι· καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅσην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τοντονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν 15 καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστω, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος 20 εὐθύς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ ἐλάττω λόγον, τᾶλλα διεξιὼν, ἀνάλωκε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεπεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἄμα, βραχέα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος, 25 ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων, ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμῆ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. Εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον, οἷον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτό 30 (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ

φωνήν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπερευ-
 πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀνασάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη·
 εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων καὶ
 μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων (ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω)
 5 χεῖρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ
 γινώσκετε, τίτω μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πισεύετε,
 δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο· ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν
 παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὐνοϊαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ
 10 πολλῶν ἀγῶνων τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων, καὶ νυ-
 παντελῶς εὐήθες ᾤήθης, τὲς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων
 καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντια με, πρὸς τὰς
 λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω
 τοῦτο, οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν
 15 πεπολιτευμένων, ἃ κατεψεύδῃς καὶ διέβαλες, αὐτίκα
 ἐξετάσω· τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην ἔτιωσὶ
 γεγενημένης, ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἢ τούτοις
 ἀκούειν, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ
 20 περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι
 τάτιουσι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προ-
 αἴρεσις αὐτῇ, ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπίρρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν
 καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ, καὶ πάντα
 τὰ τοιαῦτα. Τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτι-
 25 ὧν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἐνὶ τῇ
 πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Οὐ γὰρ
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου
 τυχεῖν· οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν, οὔτε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὀρθῶς ἔχον, οὔτε πολι-
 30 τικόν, οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
 ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὓσί γε

τηλικούτοις, ἤλικα νῦν ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με ἐώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα, καὶ τῆτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παρ' ἀνο-5
μα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμὲ, ἐμὲ δ' εἴπερ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράφατο. Καὶ μὴν, εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει, ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἐώρα, εἰσὶ νό-10
μοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια· καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημέ-
νος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν ἢ κατηγορία τοῖς 15
ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Νῦν δ' ἐκσὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ, καὶ φυγῶν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας, ὑποκρίνεται. Εἶτα, κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί· καὶ 20
τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ πῶς ἔχθραν προῖσταται· οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηνητικῶς ἐμοὶ, τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. Καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις, οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, 25
καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλα εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτω κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας 30
τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ
 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι, οὔτε δικαίως, οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας
 οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα. Βέλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκασον
 αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης
 5 καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεπεύσατό μᾶ, τὰ πεπραγμένα
 ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθείς ἑμοί. Ἔστι
 δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον
 ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγμα-
 τα ἀναμνησαί ὑμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν
 10 ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ
 (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πῶ τότε), πρῶταν
 μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε, ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βού-
 λεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιῶντας ὄρων-
 15 τες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτις ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ
 ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ
 εὐτυχῆκεσαν ἐν Δεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο.
 Ἐπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἀπασα διειστήκει· καὶ
 οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Δακεδαμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον,
 20 ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτὰς, ἔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων
 ἄρχοντες, κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν· ἀλλὰ τις ἦν
 ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀπασιν Ἑλλησιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. Ταῦτα δ' ὄρων
 ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ), τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις
 25 προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων, πάντας συνέκρουε
 καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἴτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον
 οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνεν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο
 καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. Ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι
 τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν
 30 δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι, φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκα-
 σθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵνα

μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. Τί οὖν συνηγωνίσασατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν, ὀλίγῃ δεῖν, ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς ἑξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρῆ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτε-
 5 ρα ταῦτ' εἶπεῖν· οἱ, πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμοῦντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τρίτον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῆ πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερόν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν. Οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προση-
 10 κόντως ὀργιζόμενοι, ἐτοίμως ὑπηκέσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη, διὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἐμὲ, ὡς ἔτος διέβαλεν, ἐπράχθη. Τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ, τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἂν τις ἐξετάξῃ δικαίως,
 15 αἴτια εὐρήσει. Καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι· εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τινα δοκοῖη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδικήματα, οὐδὲν ἐσιδήπου πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, Ἀριστόδημος ἦν, ὁ 20 ὑποκριτής· ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα, Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινῶν, οὐκ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρῥαγῆς ψευδόμενος· οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες, ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε ἐν τῷ 25 παρόντι), Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.

Ἄλλ' ὁμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδεΐας ὡστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ 30 τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι, ἔτι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς

εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίε τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι· εἶτ', ὦ — τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν, τηλικαύτην προᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἠλίκην νῦν ἐτραγῶδεις καὶ 5 διεξήεις, ὄρων ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθῶν, ταῦθ' ἄ νῦν κατηγορεῖς, ἐδίδαξας ἢ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν, εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ δια- 10 μαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλῆν τουτοισί. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα τότε ἀπεσταλμένη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλοι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' ἔτος ὑγιᾶς περὶ τῆτων 15 εἶρηκεν οὐδέν.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης πρέσβεις 20 ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου προᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον, οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι. Τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλε- 25 μον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκᾶν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμῶν ἐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, ἔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐδὲν ὢν κατεψεύσατό μου, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, 30 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προεἴλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ

Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. Ἐγὼ
 μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα, ββλεῦων, ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην
 τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φί-
 λιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν.
 Οὗτοι δὲ, ἐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμῆ, ταῦτα ποιεῖν
 ἠθέλησαν. Τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον, ὡς
 πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρκων,
 ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. Διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν, οὐκ
 ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε μόνον ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρα-
 σκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου· ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
 χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων (ὅπερ ἦν
 ἀληθὲς), ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τῶν ὄρ-
 κους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξιν· οὐδέ-
 να γὰρ λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα τὴν εἰρήνην. Ἄ ἐγὼ
 προορώμενος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος,
 τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν
 οἷς ἂν ἦ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τὴν ταχίστην
 ἀπολαμβάνειν· ἴν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέ-
 ρων συμμάχων, τὰ χωρία ταῦθ', ἃ νῦν ἔτος διέσυρε,
 τὸ Σέρρδιον καὶ τὸ Μύρτιον καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην,
 οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβῶν ἐκεῖνος
 τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, κύριος τῆς Θράκης
 τασταίη· μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ
 στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας, ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοι-
 ποῖς ἐπιχειροῖη πράγμασιν. Εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ
 λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ ββλεῦ-
 ῶν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔμην δεῖν, τοῦτό
 μου διαβάλλει. Ἄλλα τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ

προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας ἴν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν, ἢ θέαν αὐτοῖς μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουσιν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. Τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὔτοι, πεπρακέναι Φιλίππῳ; οὐ δῆπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβὼν, ὃ σαφῶς ἔτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

10 “Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, Ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένης Παιανιεύς εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποσεύλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δε-
15 δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ, ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε· τὲς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν, μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα
20 πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τὲς ὄρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τὲς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. Πρέσβεις ἠρέθησαν, Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύ-
25 σιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνέσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.”

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἑμῆ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ τῷ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις ἔτοι, καθῆντο ἐν Μα-
30 κεδονία τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἤλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης, πάντα καταστρεψάμενος τὰκεῖ, ἐξὸν ἡμε-

ρῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τετάρων εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι, καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι λαβόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκείνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦπατ' αὐτῶν, παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτόν· ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει, 5 καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρω εἶχε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον, κλέμμα μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ 10 πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις.

Ἔτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τέττε μείζον κακέρρημα θεάσασθε. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος ἕξειν, προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους, οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν 15 ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωσιν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἕως ἂν τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιο· ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρο ἀπαγγελιάντων αὐτῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορευέσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν 20 εἰς Πύλας, ὥσπερ πρότερον, κλείσοιτε τὸν πορθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἄμ' ἀκόοιτε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ὑμῖν τέτων κακῆϊνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. Οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ, καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, 25 πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ἀκούσαντες ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματα αὐτόν, ὥστε πάλιν μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγ- 30 γεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. Ἀξιῶ δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες

Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι, τοῦτο μεμνηῆσθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι, μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Λισχίνε μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς, εἰδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον εἰδένα ἐποιέμην ἕτερον· ἀπάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίας ἅμα τέτου κεχρημένου, ἀνάγκη καὶ μοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θοροβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, εἰάν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος τὸναντίον αὐτὸν ἐχθρόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιεῖν (μᾶλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων), ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι, τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. Ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκνον αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς; ἐκ εἰς μακρὰν τοὺς μὲν ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας, μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν· καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τέτοις, τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἔσαι φανερά. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν γενομένης, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε. Μηδένα 5 Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾶ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι. Τῶν δ’ ἐκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν, μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας, μήτε ἀποκοιτῆντας. Ὅς δ’ ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ 10 τῷ ψηφίσματι τούτῳ, ἔνοχος ἔσῳ τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. Κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ 15 τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην· τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ· τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδνεῖαν καὶ Ῥαμνεῦντα καὶ Σένιον. Εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.” 20

Ἄρ’ ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐποιεῖσθε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣ ταῦτ’ ἐπηγγείλαθ’ ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός; λέγε δ’ αὖ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν δεῦρ’ ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

25

“Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἰς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ’ ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρενῶς εἰσαγροχότας· 30 τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα, κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ

ἔξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. Ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλεῖον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις, ἔδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν 5 εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι, καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες· καὶ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. Ὡστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τῷ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.”

- 10 Ἀκούετε, ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι “ Ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπυμένων· ὥστ’ εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὧς Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ 15 πιστεύσετε.” οὐ τέτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ἄρχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδοτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματ’ ἐκεῖνον ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι.
- 20 Ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι Θηβαῖοι κέχρηται. Ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστῆς, καὶ ὁ δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγέλλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς 25 οἰκτρὰ· καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ’ ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ’ ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ γεωργῶν 30 τὰ ἐκείνων· ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὅς εὐθύς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς

λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἀρμόσει λέγειν ἴσως ἔπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων δωροδοκῆματα καὶ ἀδικήματα, τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φι-5
λίππου διὰ τούτων, τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθω-
σάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγει-
λάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ
ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν
κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι, 10
φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἠγοῦντο,
πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον,
εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο λέγειν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώ-
μενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε
τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμῶς (ὅ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε μόνοι), 15
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφρανακι-
σμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἠλπισαν, ἤγον τὴν
εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ
πολεμούμενοι. Ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν ὁ Φίλιππος, Ἰλ-
λυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλῆς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλή-20
νων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγά-
λας ἐποιεῖτο ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλε-
ων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε
διεφθειρόντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς
ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο· εἰ δὲ 25
μὴ ἦσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ.
Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην, καὶ
παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ, καὶ ὅποι πεμφθεῖην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις
ἐνόσουν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν
δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, 30
τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν, τὰ μὲν ὅτι προορωμένων,

τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζο-
 μένων, καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθος πεπονθῶτων ἀπάντων,
 πλὴν οὐκ ἔφ' ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένων ἐκάστων τὸ δεινὸν
 ἦξιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν
 5 ἀσφαλῶς στήσειν ὑπολαμβάνοντων, ὅταν βέλωνται.
 Εἴτ', οἶμαι, συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν, ἀντὶ τῆς
 πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπο-
 λωλέκεναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι, καὶ τᾶλλα πλὴν
 ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν, πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρα-
 10 κόσιν ἠσθῆσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε
 ὠνομάζοντο ἠνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ
 θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ προσήκει πάντα ἀκέσσειν.
 Οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τῷ προδιδόντος
 συμφέρον ζητῶν, χρήματα ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν
 15 ὧν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβέλω
 περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἂν εὐ-
 δαιμονέστερον προδότου. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα,
 οὐκ ἔστι. Πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἄλλ' ἐπει-
 δὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν κα-
 20 ταστῇ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστὶ,
 τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς, τότε δὴ τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ
 ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. Σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ,
 εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε
 εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρο-
 25 νοῦσι. Μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο
 Φιλίππου, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου
 Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδι-
 κος καὶ Σίμος, οἱ Λαρισσαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ
 Φιλίππου ἐποίησαν· εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων, καὶ ὑβριζο-
 30 μένων, καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων, ἢ οἰκουμένη
 πᾶσα μεστὴ γέγονε προδοτῶν. Τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος

ἐν Σικυῶνι; καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερῶμιμμένοι; ἔξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι, ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, καὶ πλεῖστα τούτοις ἀντιλέγων, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαροῦσι, τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωρο-5 δοκήσετε περιποιεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροισι βουλήμασιν, ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλιτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότεπραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 10 πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρηῆσθαι. Αἴτιος δὲ ἔστος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκευάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τὰς νεωτέρας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. Παρηνώχλησθε 15 δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως οἱ, καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ ὀτιοῦν εἰπεῖν, εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρίαν· καίτοι φιλίαν τε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων· “Ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.” Ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι, ἢ 20 πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον, οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἶπομι' ἂν ἐγὼ σε· οὐχ οὔτω μαίνομαι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θειριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας, φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. Ἄλλ' ἐκ ἔσι ταῦτα. Πόθεν; πολλῶ 25 γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. Εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. Πότερον ὑμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μίσθωτος Αἰσχίνης, ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλε- 30 ξάνδρου δοκεῖ; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα ἔμαν-
 τῶ· ἵνα, καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης, ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἄ-
 φημι, καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβλεμμένων καὶ πολλῶ
 5 μειζόνων ἔτι τέτων δωρεῶν, δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν.
 Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

“Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος
 ἕκτη ἰσαμένε, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτε Κοθωκίδης ἀπή-
 10 νεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων γραφὴν, κατὰ
 Κτησιφώντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι
 ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶ-
 σαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ
 στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διону-
 15 σίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφα-
 νοῦ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα
 χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, ἧς ἔχων
 διατελεῖ, εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆ-
 μον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας· καὶ διότι
 20 διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ,
 καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν·
 πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν
 νόμων οὐκ ἔόντων, πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς
 τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν
 25 ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν· ἐστὶ δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχο-
 ποιὸς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος· ἔτι δὲ μὴ
 ἀναγορεῦειν τὸν σέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις,
 τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ· ἀλλ', ἐὰν μὲν ἡ ββλή σεφανοῦ,
 ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν
 30 Πνυκί, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τίμημα, τάλαντα πεντή-
 κοντα. Κλήτορες, Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφώντος
 Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.”

Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τέτων, πρῶ-
 τον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν, ὅτι πάντα δικαίως
 ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος
 τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν, περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκα-5
 στον ἐφεξῆς, καὶ ἐδὲν ἕκων παραλείψω. Τῷ μὲν ἔν
 γράψαι πράττοντά με καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ
 δήμῳ διατελεῖν, καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν
 δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς
 πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω. Ἀπὸ γὰρ 10
 τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, εὖρεθήσεται, εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ
 ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα,
 εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “Ἐπειδὴν
 τὰς εὐθύναις δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ κελεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγῶ-15
 μαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι
 τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις,
 εἴτε καὶ μὴ. Ἔτι μέντοι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον
 εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τέτῳ.

Οὕτωςι μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ 20
 ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι· βαδιῶμαι
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ, ἃ πέπρακταί μοι· καὶ με μηδεὶς ὑπο-
 λάβη ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, εἰάν εἰς
 Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω. Ὁ γὰρ
 διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ 25
 ἄριστα με, καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ,
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολι-
 τευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ
 ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς· εἶτα, καὶ πολλῶν
 προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλ-30
 ληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδεί-
 ξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμέ, προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἑάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δὲ, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐπέστην ἐγὼ, διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα 5 ἀναμνήσω, καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών.

Πλεονέκτημα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. Παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ 10 θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι, καὶ τοσαύτην ὄσσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγонуῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστᾶς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν, καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τῆς Ἑλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτῆς καὶ στασιαστικῶς, ἔτι χειρὸν διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἕξα- 15 πατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδουῖς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων· καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοία τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φρομένου κακοῦ τῶν 20 ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων, δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας, εἰμὶ ἐγὼ. Πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τὸ φρό- 25 νημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἑαυτῆς, ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκатаκτιᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν (δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς), ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβη- 30 σόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνετο, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιῦδειν γιγνόμενα;

Ἄλλα νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν· πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχροῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων 5 εἴποι τις; ἢ τῆς περιεωρακῆς ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρχάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους θείημεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτων πολλοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. Καὶ γὰρ, εἰ μὲν, ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος 10 ὄχετ' εὐθὺς ἀπιῶν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ὅμως ἦν ἂν τις, κατὰ τῶν ἐκ ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος, μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων, τὸ ἀξίωμα τὴν 15 ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλευσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέροχομαι. Τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν, ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων 20 ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν ἐμὲ (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνήδειν ἐκ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτεί- 25 ων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω σώματα καὶ χρήματα ἀναλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οἳ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναλώκασιν ἕκαστοι; ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, 30 πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας

τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τῆτο ῡαδίως καὶ ἐτοίμως προῖέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετᾶ
 5 τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν. Καὶ μὴν, οὐδὲ τῆτο γε οὐδεῖς ἂν εἶπειν τολμήσειεν, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενῆσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς νοῦν
 10 ἐμβαλέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ ἔσιν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ' ὄρωσι, τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους, ἐθελοντᾶς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ.
 15 Οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειε.

Λοιπὸν τοῖνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἄμα, πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς, ἐναντιῆσθαι δικαίως. Τῆτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμεῖς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως· ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγῶ,
 20 καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους· ὁμολογῶ. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἦδη γάρ σε ἐρωτῶ. Πάντα τᾶλλα ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν Πύδναν Ποτίδαιαν Ἀλόνησον, οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρρῳιον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον, καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθθ πόρθησιν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 25 τοιαῦτα ἢ πόλις ἠδίκητο, ἔδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα· καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα, εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπείθους τῶν περὶ τῆτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὃ τι ἂν βεβληθῆς. Οὐδὲ
 30 νῦν περὶ τῆτων ἐρῶ. Ἀλλ' ὃ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ

τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ κατα-
λαμβάνων Ὠρεὸν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμὸν, καὶ
καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν
δ' Ἐρετρία Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιέμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ 5
πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, τινὰς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς τινὰς
δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα
ποιῶν ἠδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην,
ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν
ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν 10
γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην,
τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὔσαν ὀφθῆναι, ζώντων Ἀθηναίων,
ὄρωντων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰ-
πὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἢ πόλις ἢ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί· ἔσω
δ' ἀδικήματα πάντα ταῦτα, ἃ πέπρακται, καὶ ἄμαρ- 15
τῆματα ἐμά. Εἰ δὲ ἔδει τέτων τινὰ κωλυτὴν φανῆ-
ναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε
γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτενομένην τότε ἐγὼ· καὶ
ὄρων καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον,
ἠγναντιέμην προλέγων τε καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι 20
ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ.

Καὶ μὴν, ἐκεῖνός γε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσε, τὰ πλοῖα
λαβὼν, οὐχ ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ. Φέρε δὴ αὐτὰ τὰ
ψηφίσματα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου,
καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, τίς 25
τίνος αἰτίας ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος,
ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτε ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν συναχθείσης,
Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κύπριος εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ 30
προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἄρα

Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον, καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
 σαλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομ-
 πὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον, ὃ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς
 Ἀμύντας καταγέοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ ἐν φυ-
 5 λακῇ ἔχει· ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς
 στρατηγούς, ὅπως ἢ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι, καὶ αἰρεθῶσι
 πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι δια-
 λέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφρεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρ-
 χον, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ εἰ μὲν
 10 δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ
 μειψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμε-
 λούντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκευά-
 μενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγω-
 ρίας ἀξίαν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ
 15 ἀγνωμονοῦσιν, ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας, ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος,
 καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆ-
 μος βουλευσῆται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.”

Τῷτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα, Εὐβελος ἔγραψεν,
 οὐκ ἐγὼ· τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς, Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἑγήσιππος,
 20 εἶτα Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κη-
 φισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ
 τούτων. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔνη
 25 καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ
 ἐχρημάτισαν, τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες,
 ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιπ-
 πον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς, καὶ ἐντολὰς
 δοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. Καὶ
 30 εἶλοντο τούσδε· Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύ-
 στιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πο-

λύκριτον Ἀπημάντε Κοθωκίδην. Πρυτανεία φυ-
λῆς Ἰπποθωαντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς, πρόε-
δρος, εἶπεν.”

“Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσμα-
τα, οὕτω καὶ σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας
ψηφισμα, αἷτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. Ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν
ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ
παρέσχες. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται
με ὑπὲρ τῶ πολέμου, ἐτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ’ αὐ-
τὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου. 10

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

“Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῆ
βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Παραγενόμενοι πρὸς
ἐμὲ οἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν πρεσβευταὶ, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δη-
μόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν 15
πλοίων ἀφέσεως, ὧν ἐναυάρχει Λαομέδων. Κα-
θόλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ
ἔσσεσθαι, εἴτ’ οἷεσθέ με λανθάνειν, ὅτι ἔξαπεστάλη
ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παρα-
πέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Ἀἴμνον, βοη- 20
θήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς, τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ μὲν πολι-
ορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς
φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. Καὶ ταῦτα
συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ, ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τινῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἐτέρων, 25
ιδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βου-
λομένων τὸν δῆμον, ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς
ἐμὲ φιλίας, τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον
φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντελεῖσθαι, ἢ τοῖς Ση-
λυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι· καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐ- 30
τοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον πρόσοδον ἔσσεσθαι. Οὐ μέντοι μοι

δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν, οὔτ' ἐμοί. Διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, εἰάν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολι-
 5 τεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. Εὐτυχεῖτε."

Ἐνταῦθα ἑδάμῃ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, ἕδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. Τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν, τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται;
 10 ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ τέτοις ἦναντιέμην. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο· εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν,
 15 ἠνίκα Εὐβοίας ἦπιετο· εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρετρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησε. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη, καὶ Βυζάντιον, καὶ
 20 πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. Ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαὶ, στέφανοι, χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ἐγίγνοντο· τῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένων, τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν, ἢ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγορήσασιν, τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ἡμεῖς
 25 προείπατε, μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὐνοῦς αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἅ προείπατε αὐτοῖς. Καὶ μὴν, ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης, ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεὸν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλεί-
 30 ταρχος, ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρετρίαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος, ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ,

καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι, μηδὲ ἅ ποιῶν ἠδίκει, μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἤκιστα σύ. Οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι, παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνῃ, 5 καὶ σὺ πρῶξένεις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις, ὡς ἐχθρὸς, καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας, ἀπήλασε· σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδὲν, ὃ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ λέγων, ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβῶν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. Ἄλλ' οὐ σύ 10 γε· ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσῃ δὲ οὐδέποτε, εἰ μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν, ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.

Στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τέτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς, ὥσπερ οὐτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρῶν- 15 θέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τότε γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρῶν, οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβῶν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

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“Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, Γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς προτανευούσης Διοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεαῤῥῖος εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 25 καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὦν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ 30 τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δε-

δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς και-
 5 νοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμελη-
 θῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέ-
 την. Εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεαρόδιος.”

Ἔστιν ἔν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην συμβᾶσαν τῇ πόλει διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέ-
 10 λωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβῆσθαι ἐὰν ἐγὼ στε-
 φανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν, ὅταν ἦ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐὰν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας· φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκῶς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμω-
 15 ρίας. Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τοὺς χρό-
 νους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐββ-
 λεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων· τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ
 20 ἔμοι καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι· τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους, ὡς ἀγαθῶν τέτων ὕντων, ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξη-
 λάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ
 25 καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι (καὶ διαφραγῶσί τινες τούτων) ὑπ' ἐμῆ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει.
 Ὅρων δ' ὅτι σίτω πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστα χρώ-
 μεθα ἐπεισάκτω, βεβλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπείας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης, Βυζαντίους, συμ-
 30 μάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπο-
 λεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον,

οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι (λέγοντες ἀληθῆ), χαρακώματα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῆ πόλει, καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. Ἄλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν εἶπω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. Τίς δ' ὁ τῆ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. Ἄλλὰ μὲν, ἡλίκα ταῦτ' ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἐκ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπεύρασθε. Ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος, ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγαγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοί, ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν· ὧν διαμάρτοισιν, καὶ μὴ μετὰσχοισιν ὧν ὑμεῖς, οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι, τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

“Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ, Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλία ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βολᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγενομένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χάριτας παρέσχηται ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότη καιρῷ, Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἐπιστρατεύσαντος

ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαν-
 τίων καὶ Περινθίων, καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ
 δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοισιν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἵ-
 κοσι, καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐξείλετο
 5 ἄμμε ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε
 τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὰς νόμους καὶ τὰς τά-
 φως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθί-
 ων, Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, κτᾶσιν
 γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον
 10 ποτὶ τὰν βωλᾶν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ
 ἱερά· καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν, ἀλει-
 τουργήτοις ἡμεν πᾶσαν προσέτι λειτουργίαν· σᾶσαι
 δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαίδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπό-
 ρῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ
 15 τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖ-
 λαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύρι-
 ας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια,
 καὶ ἀνακαρύξαι τὰ σεφάνω ᾧ συσεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος
 ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπισέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες
 20 πάντες, Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν, καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ
 Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.”

Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερῶνῳ σεφάνες.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡῶΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

“Χερῶνῳσιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σησιτὸν Ἐλεοῦν-
 25 τα Μάδντον Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθη-
 ναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσοῦ στεφάνω,
 ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα· καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύ-
 ονται καὶ δῆμον Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μέγιστον
 ἀγαθῶν πράττων γέγονε Χερῶνῳσίταις, ἐξελόμενος
 30 ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου, καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας τοὺς
 νόμους τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ

ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἔλλείψει εὐχαριστιῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. Ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῶ βουλευτηρίῳ.”

Οὐκοῦν, οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σώσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων, ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἢ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξε τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν, καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. Ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις, 10 πολιορκῶν αὐτὸς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων · ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον ἢ μιαιώτερον ; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως, περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προἰέμενοι τοὺς ἀδι- 15 κουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε · ἐξ ὧν, δόξαν εὐνοίαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε. Καὶ μὴν, ὅτι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐστεφανώκατε ἤδη τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι · δι' ὄντινα δὲ ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἐσεφάνονται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ρήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, 20 οὐδ' ἂν εἶς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, σκοφαντίας οὕσας ἐπιδείξω, μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς 25 εἶναι (τῷτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἠγᾶμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἣ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελεθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσι. 30 Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ, πρὸς τὰ

κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν.

Ἔμεῖς τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὰ κύκλω τῆς
 5 Ἀπτικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἶγινα, Κλεωναῖς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον· καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον
 10 εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πολλὰ ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις, τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Καίτοι τότε ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω, Αἰσχίνῃ, ἔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν, οὔτε ἀκίνδυνα ἐώρων· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προ-
 15 εῖντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς δίδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. Πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ἂν ἐν
 20 οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἀπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅτι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ, γενναίως.

Ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ἡμῶν
 25 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Δεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κιν-
 30 δυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ τοι, πᾶσι τοῖς

Ἔλλησιν ἐκ τούτων ἐδείξατε, ὅτι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς ἄλλα ἔχετε· ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτὰς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε.

5

Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον ἕως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν, οὐ περιεΐδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τριηραρχῶν τότε πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ἔπω περὶ τούτων. Καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ, καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων, ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε, ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι.

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζῶν, στρατείας, καὶ πάσαις γεγωνυίας, καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεχ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιήται.

Εἴτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς συμβεβληῆς οὔσης, τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακήσειν, νῆ Δία, πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα τὰ συμφέροντα; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρη-

30

σα ; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐποιήσατε, ἀκριβῶς ἐγὼ οἶδα· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν ; οὐκ ἐξῆν ; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι ;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς
 5 ἐπολιτευόμεν· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῆ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. Ὅρων γὰρ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους, ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τὰς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους
 10 τῶν πολιτῶν, τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑσερίζσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν, τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσα ἀδικουμένους, τῆ πόλει δ' (ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον) ἐν καιρῷ γίνε-
 15 σθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα· καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν παρανόμων, εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβε. Καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἠγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν, ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ
 20 μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναί με τὸν νόμον τούτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, καταβαλόντα με ἔἴην ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ ; τοσαῦτα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προ-
 25 τέρων νόμων, συνεχκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου, τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριηράρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκα-
 30 τος ὢν πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχος ἐπωνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. Ὡστε δὴ

ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκα-
σθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε
πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γρα-
φὴν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου
νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἑμόν. Λέγε. 5

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος
ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἰπποθοωντί-
δος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσήνεγ-
κε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, 10
καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ
ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ ἀπή-
νεγκε παρανόμων γραφὴν Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς
Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λα-
βῶν, ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.” 15

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

“Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη
συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ
εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῆ 20
χορηγία χρωμένους.”

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἑμοῦ νόμου
κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

“Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη, 25
ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα.
Ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημά-
των, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν, ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ
ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω· κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ
ἀναλογίαν ἔστω, καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἔστι τῶν δέ- 30
κα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ
δέκα τάλαντα.”

Ἄρα γε μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν
δοκῶ ; ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλωσάσαι ἂν ἐθέλαιν, τοῦ μὴ τὰ δί-
καια ποιεῖν, οἱ πλούσιοι ; ἔ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ κα-
θυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀπο-
5 φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον,
καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. Πάντα γὰρ τὸν
πόλεμον τῶν ἀποσολῶν γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον
τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος ἕδεις πώ-
ποτε ὡς ἀδικόμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐκ ἐν Μενυχίᾳ ἕκαθέ-
10 ζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη· οὐ τριήρης
οὔτ' ἕξω καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ' αὐ-
τῆ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. Καίτοι κα-
τὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο.
Τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν, τῷ λειτουργεῖν μὴ
15 δύνασθαι· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαιεν. Ἐγὼ
δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς
τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο.

Καὶ μὴν, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου
τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύ-
20 ματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαί, καὶ τιμαί, καὶ δυνάμεις
συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ
κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν,
οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. Ταῦτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων
ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς
25 Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει,
τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν
πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην· οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς,
τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα, ἀντὶ
τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων.

30 Ἐγούμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κη-
ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. Τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ

ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον, καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμι καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλωσθῆναι μοι νομίζω. Καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἔμαντῶ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν, ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ 5 αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν· εἶτα, κἄν μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστου τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω δια- 10 κυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, ἔτε, μὰ τῆς θεοῦς, οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς. Ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι.

Τοσοῦτον γὰρ δέω λέγειν, ὥς οὐκ εἰμι ὑπεύθυ- 15 νος (ὃ νῦν οὗτος πολλάκις διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο), ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ὧν ἢ διακεχειρίκα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν· ὧν μέντοι γ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῶ δῆμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι· 20 ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη; οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὦν τύχη. Τίς γὰρ ἐσι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλόαν- 25 θρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον, τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύναις ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἰς δῆπον. Εἰ δὲ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ σέρεξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀλλ' ἔτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι, ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὦν, 30 ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ Ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν (φησιν)

ἢ βελγῆ, ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα.” Οὐ περὶ τρίτων γε οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ᾧ συκοφάντα. “Ἄλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθά,” φησι. Καὶ δι’ αὐτό γε τῷ ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τὰ ἀνηλωμένα 5 ἐπέδωκα, καὶ ἐκ ἐλογιζόμεν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς, εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται· ἢ δὲ δωρεὰ, χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν. Διόπερ ταῦτ’ ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

“Ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς 10 νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἠθεσιν ὄρισται, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ’ οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐσεφάνωται ὑφ’ ὑμῶν. Εἴθ’ ὅτι τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε, καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανα- 15 νοῦντο. Εἴθ’ οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος, πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπισάτης ὢν, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. Σχέτιλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντι, ἢ διδόναι τὰ ἑαυτῆ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσαι, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τῆ κομίσασθαι χάριν, εὐθύνας 20 ὑφέξειν. “Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ’ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε μοι τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα λαβὼν αὐτά. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἀρχῶν Δημόνικος Φλυεὺς, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη 25 μετ’ εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεαρόριος εἶπεν, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι, Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν διςχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῳ, καὶ βοθηθέντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, 30 οὐ δυναμένου Φιάλωνος, τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως χειροτονημένου, διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μι-

σθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε, καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.”

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάδῳριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων 5 βελῆς γνώμη. Ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους 10 ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι, καὶ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι 15 θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.”

Τῶτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἦρχεν, ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ’ οἷς δ’ ἐξεφανῆτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος· οὐκοῦν οὐδ’ ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπε. Ἐπέδωκα, καὶ ἐπαι- 20 νοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὑπεύθυνος ὦν ἐπέδωκα· ἦρχον, καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα, νῆ Δία. Ἄλλ’ ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρῶν, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, διὰ τί οὐ κατηγορεῖς;

“Ἰνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτε, ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ, 25 ἐφ’ οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον, τὸ γραφέν μοι. Οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράφατο τοῦ προβουλευματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

30

“Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, Πυανεψιῶνος ἐννάτη

ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησι-
 φῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ
 Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, γενόμενος
 ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς, καὶ προσανα-
 5 λώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τά-
 λαντα, ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεω-
 ρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν
 φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας· δεδόχθαι
 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινεῖσαι
 10 Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
 καὶ καλοκαγαθίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
 εἰς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ στεφανῶσαι
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν
 τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ
 15 ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.”

Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ
 γέγραπαι· ἃ δὲ φησιν ἡ βουλή δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων
 γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. Τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν
 τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-
 20 των ἀποδοῦναι, παρανόμων γράφη; ὁ δὲ παμπόνη-
 ρος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς, καὶ βάσκανος ὄν-
 τως, ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη, πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν, περὶ τοῦ γε ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι,
 τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παραλείπω,
 25 καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον·
 ἀλλὰ, πρὸς θεῶν, οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀνάισθητος,
 Αἰσχίνη, ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι λογίσασθαι, ὅτι τῷ μὲν
 στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ σέφανος, ὅποι
 ἂν ἀναρῶρηθῇ· τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα
 30 συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίνεται τὸ κήρυγμα;
 οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πό-

λιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφε. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

5

“Ὅσες στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μὴ τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.” 10

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, “Πλὴν ἐὰν τινὰς ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, τέτους δὲ ἀναγορεύεσθαι;” τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαντὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ, φθόνῃ 15 δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς, καὶ νόμους, τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλως δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν, λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάν-20 τα ἐκδεδωκῶς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἶτα οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς, κομιζόμενος· ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινωσκόμενος. Καὶ βοᾷς, ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοι καὶ τῷ σῷ 25 γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἠγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι· τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν, βλασφη-30 μίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περι

ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. Οἰκοδομηῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέιληφα, οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχω-
 5 μεν, ἐάν τις ἠδικηκῶς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης εἰδὲν ἦττον ἐμῶ, πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. Ἦδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας.

10 Πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρόν, ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δηλονότι. Εἶτα, ἔ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμῶ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἠδίκην, ἐξέλιπες ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· ἔ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἄπασι,
 15 τοῖς νόμοις τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ προθεσίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις τούτων πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτ' ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας;
 20 ὄρα, μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῆ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἢ μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἄπασι δέδεικται· δεῖ δέ με (ὡς ἔοικε) καίπερ οὐ φιλολοῖδορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τέττε βλασφημίας εἰρημένας, ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν, αὐτὰ τὰ
 25 ἀναγκαιότατα εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων, ῥαδίως ἕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγγασθαι; εἰ γὰρ Αἰακός, ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς, ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν,
 30 ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περιτρίμμα ἀγοραῶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν,

οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ βοῶντα, ᾧ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλέμενον, ἧ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δῆπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Σοὶ 5 δὲ ἀρετῆς, ᾧ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς, τίς μετουσία, ἢ τίς διάγνωσις τῶν τοιούτων; πόθεν λαβόντι, ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι; ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶν ἑτέρου λέγον- 10 τος ἐρυσθριάσειε· τοῖς δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δὲ ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν ὅταν λέγωσιν, εἰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρῆ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 15 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ. Πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ, τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θεσίῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχειάς ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σε τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ, τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἠρωῖ, 20 χρωμένη, τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τῆ Φρεαρήϊς δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ, νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὲς θεοὺς, ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων, 25 αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαντῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω· ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ, ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν, ἀρξομαι.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ὧν ἔτυχεν, ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. Ὅπῃ γὰρ ποτε — ὅπῃ λέγω, χθὲς μὲν οὖν 30 καὶ πρόην, ἅμα Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε· καὶ

δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς, τὸν μὲν πατέρα, ἀντὶ Τρό-
μητος, ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον· τὴν δὲ μητέρα, σεμνῶς
πάνυ, Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἣν Ἐμποῦσαν ἅπαν-
τες ἴσασι καλοῦμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πά-
5 σχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἔτυχοῦσαν.
Πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν;

Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει,
ᾧστε, ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ
διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγωναῖς, οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις,
10 ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαντὸν κατὰ τριτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. Καὶ
περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστὶ τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς
πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανε-
ρῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀν-
15 τιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεῶρια
ἐμπρήσειν τὰ ὑμέτερα, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λα-
βόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ, καὶ καταστή-
σαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος
καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατία δεινὰ ποιῶ, τοὺς
20 ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων, καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας
βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησε. Καὶ
εἰ μὴ ἡ βεβλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθο-
μένη, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν ἑ δέοντι συμβε-
βηκυῖαν ἰδῶσα, ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ συλλα-
25 βῶσα ἐπανήγαγεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος·
καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς, ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ
σεμνολόγου τουτουῖ. Νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες
αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον.

Τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἢ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου
30 πάγου τὰ τότε τούτω πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων
αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ

(ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας, ἀφ' ἧςπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν), ὡς προείλεσθε καὶ κείνην καὶ κυρίαν τῆ πράγματος ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθύς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ἐπερίδην δὲ λέγειν* προσέταξε· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, 5 καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μαρῶ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

“Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οὔδε 10 Καλλίας Σουნიεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ἐπερίδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν· καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ἐπερίδης.”

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε, τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν, ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸν ἢ βουλή καὶ προσέταξεν ἐτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν. “Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τῷτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τῆ νεανίου τούτου, 20 ὁμοιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε.

“Ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων ἀπάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν 25 καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἶξα ἔδ' ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστάς ἀντεῖπον, καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ πρῶδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου 30 συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος

δὲ συνηγωνίζετο, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ. Καὶ ἐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη.
 5 Καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνηίει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

10

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

“Κελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερίδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου, μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει, καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτη Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν
 15 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν, καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. Αὐταὶ ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, Ἐκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ἰσταμένου.”

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερόν εἶπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ, πα-
 20 ραλείπω· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει· πολλὰ γ' ἐγὼ νῦν ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, δι' ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὐρέθη· ἀλλ' ἐτίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην, οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν· ἀλλὰ
 25 δεδώκατε (ἔθει τινὲ φάυλω) πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βελομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος, τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. Διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέσειρον
 30 αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν, ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τῆς πολεμεῖν, φανερώς συναγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ, δεινὸν μὲν, ᾧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. Δότε δὲ, εἰ βέλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τέτο· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄττι-5 κὴν ἐπορθεύει ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτι ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνεισήκει πόλεμος· ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοτ' ἐπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὔτοσι ἱαμβειογράφος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ περὶ 10 τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐπὶ τῷ ἔμῳ ὕδατι. Ἄλλ' ἔκ' ἔστιν ἐδέν. Καίτοι, δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν, μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζη- 15 τοῦντα, μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν, ἠνίκα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακὸν ὑμᾶς; ἔμενον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἐτέρῳ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύνατο (ὡς ἔοικεν) 20 ἢ πόλις, ἃ ποιῶν εἰς ἐλάνθανεν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιῶν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές· τὸ δ' οὐ 25 τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τὰ κεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· ἔχ' ἔτω πολλὰ ἔρεῖς. Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεὸς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν 30 Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι

πᾶσι τέτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶποιμι, καὶ
 εἶπον τότε εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον του-
 τονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον
 (ἔγνων γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων) · εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι
 5 καὶ σωτηρίαν · εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδί-
 ας ἔνεκα, αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι. Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπή-
 ραμαι, καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ
 γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν
 10 ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδῶς τὰ πεπραγμέ-
 να μνημονεύοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβῆμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργα-
 σμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ἔτος ἐλάττιον ὑποληφθῆ· ὅπερ
 πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας
 ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι, τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας.
 15 Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν
 ἦλθε Φίλιππος, καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
 ἡγεμῶν, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτος
 ἔστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας, καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν
 μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. Καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ δια-
 20 μαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· “ Πό-
 λεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄγεις, Αἰσχίνῃ, πόλεμον
 Ἀμφικτυονικόν·” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθή-
 μενοι οὐκ εἶων με λέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον, καὶ
 κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπε-
 25 λάμβανον αὐτῷ. “ Ἦτις δὲ ἡ φύσις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνας
 εἶνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη, καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν
 ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε. Καὶ γὰρ εὔ-
 πράγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε
 30 πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν · καὶ ὄση δεινότης ἦν ἐν
 τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσασθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ πέρασ ἐδ' ἀπαλλα-
 γῇ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ, καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς
 τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ,
 ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία 5
 ἔπασχε κακά. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας
 γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ' εἰσήγετο, ὧν ἐδεῖτο, αὐτῷ·
 ἦν δὲ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κρείττων τότε ὑμῶν, οὔτε
 εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς, μήτε Θετταλῶν
 ἀκολοθεύοντων, μήτε Θηβαίων διιέντων. Συνέβαινε 10
 δ' αὐτῷ, τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῆντι τὸς ὁποῖος δῆποθ' ὑμεῖς
 ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγοὺς (ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), αὐτῇ τῇ
 φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις,
 κακοπαθεῖν. Εἰ μὲν ἔν τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκεν ἐχθρας, ἢ
 τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθοι βαδί- 15
 ζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἠγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν
 νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν,
 ἠγεμῶν αἰρεθῆ, ῥᾶον ἠλπιζε, τὰ μὲν παρακρούσε-
 σθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. Τί οὖν ἐπιχειρεῖ; θεάσασθε
 ὡς εὔ· πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ περὶ 20
 τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχῆν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθύς αὐτοὺς
 ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτῷ δεήσεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τῆτον
 ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν
 ἐκείνους συμμάχων εἰσηγεῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πράγ-
 μα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, 25
 καὶ πάντα φυλάξεσθαι· ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ, καὶ
 παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως
 λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε;
 μισθοῦται τουτονί. Οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι,
 τὸ πράγμα, ἐδὲ φυλάττοντος (ὡςπερ εἶπθε τὰ τοιαῦ- 30
 τα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι), προβληθεὶς Πυλαγόρας

οὗτος, καὶ τριῶν ἢ τειτάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐ-
 τὸν, ἀνεξόρηθη. Ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν,
 ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς
 καὶ παριδῶν, ἐπέβαινον ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη. Καὶ λό-
 5 γους εὐπροςώπτες καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα
 καθιερώθη, συνθεῖς καὶ διεξελθὼν, ἀνθρώπους ἀπεί-
 ρους λόγων, καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς
 ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν
 χώραν, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὔσαν
 10 γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἠτιᾶτο
 εἶναι· ἑδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν,
 οὐδ' ἂ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ.
 Γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν· οὐκ ἐνήν, ἄνευ τοῦ προσκα-
 λέσασθαι δήπου, τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πό-
 15 λεως συντελέσασθαι· τίς ἔν ἐκλήτευσεν ὑμᾶς; ἀπὸ
 ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπέ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. Ἀλλ' οὐκ
 ἂν ἔχοις· ἀλλὰ κενῆ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ
 ψευδεῖ.

Περιϊόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων,
 20 κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ
 Λοκροὶ, μικροῦ μὲν ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν, τινὰς δὲ
 καὶ συνήσπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. Ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ
 τέτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφισσεῖς
 ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κότυφος αὐτῶν τῶν
 25 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν οὐκ
 ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιου-
 σαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθύς ἡγεμόνα ἤγον
 οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλοι πονηροὶ τῶν Θεττα-
 λῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ προφάσεις
 30 εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἢ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ
 ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν, καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ

ταῦτα ποιούοντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἰρεῖσθαι. Τί δεῖ τὰ
πολλὰ λέγειν; ἠρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἠγεμών· καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, δύναμιν συλλέξας, καὶ παρελθὼν
ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραΐαν, ἐρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ καὶ
Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβά- 5
νει. Εἰ μὲν ἔν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθύς Θηβαῖοι, καὶ
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὡςπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τῷ-
το τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε. Νῦν δὲ τότε
γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, ᾧ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινος εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα 10
μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς
δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς
ἐκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἠλίκα πράγματα ἢ
μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη, δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε.
Λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 15

ΔΟΓΜΑ ἈΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

“Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας,
ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμ-
φικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν
ἱερὰν χώραν, καὶ σπεύρουσι, καὶ βοσκήμασι κα- 20
τανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς Πυλαγόρας καὶ τοὺς
συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ
ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπι-
βαίνειν.”

Ἔτερον Δόγμα.

25

“Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδο-
ξε τοῖς Πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφι-
κτυόνων, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ
οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι
γεωργοῦσι, καὶ βοσκήματα νέμωσι· καὶ κωλυόμενοι 30
τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοι-

νὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ
5 ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελέμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.”

10 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ, καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. Λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

“Ἀρχῶν Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.”

15 Δὸς δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπισολὴν, ἣν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκων οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος· ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς
20 πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο· κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. Ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις παραδὲς αὐτῷ, ἕτος ἦν. Λέγε.

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

25 “Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι, χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ, οἱ καλέμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικῶντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι
30 μεθ' ὀπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βέλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν

βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντῶτε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεσιῶτος μηνὸς Λῶου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κο-5 ρίνθιοι, Πανέμυ. Τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ, χρησόμεθα συμβούλοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ προσθεμένοις, ἐπιζημίοις. *Εὐτυχεῖτε.*”

Οραῖθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει; τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα 10 συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιϋόντες, ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέ-15 πονθεν ἢ Ἑλλάδος ἀνθρώπου. Οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ 15 πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὗτός ἐστιν· ὧν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων. Ὁ γὰρ τὸ 20 σπέρμα παρασχῶν, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. Ὅν ὅπως ποτὲ ἐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαν-25 μάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 25 τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ, εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι, ἀφῆχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἔνεκα εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ 30 τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

Ὅρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου πραττόντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερόν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔαν 5 αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας, καὶ ἐδὲ καθὲν φυλαττομένης, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρῆναι ἀλλήλοις ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γενήσεται, παρατηρῶν διετέλεσεν· ἐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμαυτῆ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα, 10 καὶ πάλιν Εὐβελον, πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους προᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς, εἰς τοῦτο ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεὶ· οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ 15 κατηγορῶν. Ἄ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων.

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον τέτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν 20 ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἔπερ ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις ἔτοι συνέκρουον· καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὸ 25 προᾶγμα. Ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαθῶν.

Ψ Η Ψ Ι Σ Μ Α .

“ Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Ἐλαφηβολιῶ- 30 νος ἕκτη φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευσίσης Ἐρεχθηίδου, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ Φίλιπ-

πος, τινὰς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς 5 πίστεις· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται, καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν, μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλευσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει, καὶ 10 τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ Θαοργηλιῶνος μηνός. Ἠρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν."

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

15

“Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Μουνιχιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνε- 20 σθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχέσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆ- 25 ται. Καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. Ἠρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος· καὶ κήρυξ Εὐνόμος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.”

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

30

ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ Ἀθηναίοις.

“Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Ἦν μὲν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς
 εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπ-
 5 δὴν ποιεῖσθε, προσκαλέσασθαι βεβλόμενοι Θειταλῆς
 καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῆς. Βέλτιον δ’ αὐ-
 τῶν φρονούντων, καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ποιή-
 σασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον
 ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς
 10 πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα, συνθηκῶν μνημονεύε-
 τε, καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ’ ἑδὲν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πε-
 πλημμελημένοι. Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκέραια τῶν πρεσβευ-
 τῶν, συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις, καὶ
 ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ
 15 ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες, τῆς
 προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσῃτε. Ἐρῶσθε.”

ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ Θηβαίοις.

“Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Θηβαίων τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Ἐκομισάμην τὴν
 20 παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι’ ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν
 εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶ-
 σαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν, βου-
 λόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐ-
 τῶν παρακαλουμένοις. Πρῶτερον μὲν ἔν ὑμῶν κα-
 25 τεγίγνωσκον, ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκεί-
 νων ἐλπίσι, καὶ ἐπακολοθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει·
 νῦν δ’ ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας
 ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν
 γνώμαις, ἦσθην· καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ
 30 πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τέτων
 ἀσφαλέστερον, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ·

ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπὴν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. "Ἐρῶσθε."

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τέτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἤκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ 5 τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἔτι συμπνευσόντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, ἀντὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα. 10

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν· ἤκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ἐς τὰς πρυτάνεις, ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν, εὐθύς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν σκηρῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐξεΐργον, καὶ τὰ γέροα ἐνεπίμπρασαν· οἱ δὲ, τοὺς 15 στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτήν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. Τῇ δ' ὑσεραΐα, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε· καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ 20 προβουλεῦσαι, πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βεβλή, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἤκοντα παρήγαγον, καὶ κεῖνος εἶπεν· ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ· "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται;" παρήει δ' ἐδεῖς. Πολ-25 λάκις δὲ τῷ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, ἐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατο οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ρητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐρῶνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· (ἦν γὰρ ὁ κήρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσει, ταύ-30 τὴν κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι.)

Καίτοι, εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους
 παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ἀνασάντες, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε (πάντες γὰρ
 εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε) · εἰ δὲ τοὺς
 5 πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι · εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρα
 ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ
 ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες · καὶ γὰρ
 εὐνοία καὶ πλῆτω τῷτ' ἐποίησαν. Ἀλλ' (ὡς ἔοικεν)
 ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, ἔ μόνον εὐνοῦν
 10 καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολογη-
 κότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον
 ὀρθῶς, τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ
 τί βουλόμενος. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, μὴτ' ἐξητα-
 κῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὔτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν, οὔτ' εἰ
 15 πλούσιος, εἰδὲν μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσε-
 σθαι, εἰδὲν ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. Ἐφάνην τοίνυν
 οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον
 εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσέχοντες
 τὸν νοῦν · ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόν-
 20 των καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν
 ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γρά-
 φων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς
 φοβεροῖς · ἑτέρος δὲ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον,
 πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθε
 25 ἔμπειροτέροι.

Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι, “ Τὲς μὲν, ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θη-
 βαίων φίλων Φιλίππῳ, λίαν θορυβουμένους, ἀγνοεῖν
 τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἠγάμαι. Εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ
 τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκόμοιεν
 30 ἐν Ἐλατεία ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροισι ὁρίοις.
 Ὅτι μέντοι, ἵν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσῃται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις, ἠκεῖ,

σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι· ὡς δ' ἔχει ταῦτα (ἔφην) ἀκέρ-
 τέ μου. Ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων
 ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἀπαντας ἠντιρέπισται· τοὺς
 δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεσηκότας αὐτῷ, καὶ νῦν ἐναντιμέ-
 νους, οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν βούλεται, 5
 καὶ τίνας ἔνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφε; πλησίον
 δύναμιν δείξας, καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα, τοὺς μὲν
 ἑαυτοῦ φίλους θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπᾶραι, τοὺς
 δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπληῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι
 φοβηθέντες, ἢ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. Εἰ 10
 μὲν οὖν προαιρησόμεθα ἡμεῖς (ἔφην) ἐν τῷ παρόντι,
 εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τού-
 του μεμνησθαι, καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν οὐσί μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὖξαιτο Φί-
 λιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα φοβοῦμαι, μὴ, προςδεξαμέ- 15
 νων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ, καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ
 πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν
 ἀμφοτέρω. Ἄν μέντοι πεισθῆτέ μοι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν, περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω, γέ-
 νησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν, καὶ τὸν 20
 ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. Τί οὖν
 φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φό-
 βον· εἴτα μεταθέσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ
 Θηβαίων (πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσὶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ
 προτέροις αὐτοῖς ὁ κίνδυνος)· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας 25
 Ἐλευσίναδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, δεῖξαι
 πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς
 ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ
 παρῶρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ
 τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοη- 30
 θήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατεία, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς

ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς
 ἔτοιμοι, καὶ βοηθήσετε, ἂν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴη. Με-
 τὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ
 ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ
 5 τοῦ πότε δεῖ ἐκεῖσε βαδίζειν, καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. Ἐπει-
 δὲ δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσα-
 σθαι τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ, παραινῶ, πάνν μοι προσ-
 ἔχετε τὸν νῦν · μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχροὺς
 γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν
 10 κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κιν-
 δύνουσι, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προο-
 ρωμένων · ἴν', ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν
 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθα ὤμεν διωκῆμενοι, καὶ μετὰ
 προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν ·
 15 ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῆ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς
 ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἂν τι νῦν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν
 αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον."

Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν, κατέβην.
 Συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων, καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος
 20 ἐναντίον οὐδὲν, οὐκ, εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα
 δέ · οὐδὲ, ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ · οὐδὲ,
 ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους · ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευταῖης διεξῆλθον,
 καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰς περιεστηκότας
 25 τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸ
 τότε γενόμενον.

Καίτοι, τίνα βούλει σε, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυ-
 τὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν
 μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις
 30 Βάταλον ; σὲ δὲ μηδὲ ἦρωα τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τού-
 των τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην, ἢ Κρέ-

οντα, ἢ ὄν ἐν Κολυτιῶ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ὃ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάταλος, Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ, πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. Σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν ἔδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· 5 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΣ.

“Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς προτανευ-
 ἴσης Αἰαντίδος, Σκίροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δη-10
 μοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ
 Φίλιππος, ὃ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ἐν τε τῷ παρελη-
 λυθῶ χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημέ-
 νας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ
 τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τὰς ὄρκους, καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι 15
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις
 παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ, καὶ
 Ἀθηναίων ἕσας, δορυαλώτῃς πεποίηκεν, ἔδδεν προα-
 δικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἐν τε τῷ
 παρόντι, ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βία καὶ τῇ ὀμότη-20
 τι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, αἷ μὲν ἐμφρούρους
 ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ
 ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ
 ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων Βαρβάρους κατοικίζει, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά
 καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, ἔδδεν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν ἕτε 25
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος, οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν
 αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελη-
 σμένος ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέ-
 γονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας· καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα
 παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους, καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπε-30
 λάμβανεν ὃ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἔλαττον εἶναι τὸ εἰς

αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὄρων Ἑλληνίδας πό-
 λεις, τὰς μὲν ὑβρίζομένας, τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνο-
 μένας, δεινὸν ἠγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν
 προγόνων δόξης, τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας κατα-
 5 δουλουμένους· διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς
 καὶ ἤρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγό-
 νων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν
 10 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρί-
 δα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν,
 καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν
 στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς
 ἵππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσίναδε ἐξάγειν· πέμψαι δὲ
 15 καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὲς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ
 πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους, διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν
 Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας· παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐ-
 τοὺς, μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀντέ-
 χεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
 20 ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησι-
 κακῶν, εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλε-
 σι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει, καὶ δυνάμεσι, καὶ χρήμα-
 σι, καὶ βέλεσι, καὶ ὄπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 25 οὐσιν Ἑλλήσι, καλόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου
 ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστρεφεῖσθαι, ἀνάξιον
 εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης, καὶ τῆς τῶν προ-
 γόνων ἀρετῆς. Ἔτι δὲ, οὐδ' ἀλλότριον ἠγεῖται
 εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον, οὔτε
 30 τῇ συγγενείᾳ, οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ· ἀναμιμνήσκειται
 δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θη-

θαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τὸς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῶας ἀρχῆς, κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιθαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνοις· καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν, καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἕκπεσόντας, ὑπεδεξάμεθα· καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους. Διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων· συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἐπι- 10 γαμίαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.”

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ.

“Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερίδης Κλεάνδρος Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνης Φρε- 15 ἀρξίος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλης Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχος 15 Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.”

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχή, καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη· τὰ πρὸ τούτων, εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει 20 περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὡς περ νέφος. Ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἑοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον 25 ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ, πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ, σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῆ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ 30 εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων.

ῚΓῚ Ὶ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιῶμαι, ὥστε ἂν
 νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὄλως, εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν
 πλὴν ὧν ἔγῚ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. Εἰ γὰρ
 ἔσθῚ ὁ τις νῦν ἐώρακεν, ὁ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πρα-
 5 χθὲν, τοῦτῚ ἔγῚ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. Εἰ δὲ
 μὴτῚ ἔσι, μὴτε ἦν, μὴτῚ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεῖς μηδέπω
 καὶ τῆμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν ; οὐ
 τῚν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνότων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι ;
 τῚτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τῚ κῆρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχί-
 10 νη, “ Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται ; ” οὐ, “ τίς αἰτιασθαι
 περὶ τῚν παρεληλυθῚτων ; ” οὐδὲ, “ τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι
 τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ; ” σοῦ δῚ ἀφῚνου κατῚ ἐκείνεσ
 τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἔγῚ
 παρελθῚν, ἔλεγον. Ὶπειδῆ δὲ οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν
 15 δεῖξον, εἰπέ, τίς ἦ λόγος, ὄντινα ἐχρῆν εὔρεῖν, ἢ και-
 ρὸς συμφέρων, ὑπῚ ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῆ πόλει ; τίς
 δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφῚ ἦν μᾶλλον ἔδει με
 ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί ; ἀλλὰ μὴν, τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθῚς
 ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεῖς περὶ τούτου
 20 προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν. τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ
 παρὸν, τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε
 τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἐμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῚν δεινῚν, τὰ
 δῚ ἤδη παρῆν. ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει
 τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβαίνοντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ
 25 μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῆ, πάντων
 γίγνεται. ἢ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῆ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου
 διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δῆ τῚθῚ ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς,
 εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη ΦιλίππῚ τὴν μάχην (ἐν γὰρ τῚ
 θεῚ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί) . ἀλλῚ ὡς οὐχ
 30 ἄπανθῚ ὅσα ἐνῆν κατῚ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλό-
 μην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῚς ἔπραξα καὶ

φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πό-
 λεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα,
 ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. Εἰ
 δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς, ἢ χειμῶν, μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί 5
 χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ
 σωτηρία πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ
 πλοῖον, ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι· εἶτα χει-
 μῶνι χρησάμενον, καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν,
 ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. 10
 Ἄλλ' οὔτε ἐκυβέρονων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν· ὥσπερ
 οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων
 ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρὴ 15
 προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμαχεῖς, ἀλλὰ
 Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο (ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκεῖνος πάσας
 ἀφῆκε φωνάς); καὶ εἰ νῦν τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τοσοῦτος κίν-
 δυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που 20
 τῆς χώρας ταῦτ' οὗτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι
 χρῆν; ἄρ' οἴεσθε ὅτι νῦν ἐνῆν στήναι, συνελθεῖν,
 ἀναπνεῦσαι; πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς
 ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει. Τότε δὲ —
 ἀλλ' ἔκ' ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ὧν γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν 25
 τινος εὐνοια, καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην
 τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς. Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ
 πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί,
 καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους·
 ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν κατάπτυσον, βραχὺς 30
 καὶ σαφῆς ἐξήρκει μοι λόγος.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχί-
 νη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτε ἐβλεύετο ἡ πόλις περὶ τέ-
 των, τότε ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ὡστε τί
 5 μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς, ἢ ἐγὼ σου; το-
 σοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σου πολίτης γέγονα εἰς
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἃ λέγω (καὶ ἔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων δια-
 λέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι
 δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, ἑδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον,
 10 οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος. Σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελ-
 τίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὔτε εἰς
 ταῦτα χρήσιμον ἑδὲν σεαυτὸν παρέσχες· ὅπερ δ' ἂν
 ὁ φανλότητος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος ποι-
 ῆσειε τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶ-
 15 σιν ἐξήτασαι. Καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ, καὶ
 Ἀριστόλαος ἐν Θάσσο, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πό-
 λεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους, καὶ Ἀθή-
 νησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. Καίτοι
 ὅτι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν
 20 ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὐτός ἐστι δίκαιος, ἢ
 κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτι συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ
 καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἐνι τοῦτον
 εὖνον εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι· δηλοῖς δὲ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς, καὶ
 ποιεῖς, καὶ πολιτεύῃ, καὶ πάλιν ἐ πολιτεύῃ. Πράτ-
 25 τεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἀφωνος
 Αἰσχίνης· ἀντέκρυσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν, οἷον ἐκ ἔδει;
 πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης· ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα, καὶ τὰ
 σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖ-
 ται. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἐγκείται,
 30 βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν· καί μου, πρὸς
 Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν, μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ,
 ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω.

Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενή-
 σεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες,
 Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς
 οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τού-
 των ἦν, εἴπερ ἢ δόξης, ἢ προγόνων, ἢ τῷ μέλλοντος 5
 αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν
 τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιούσα προεστάναι
 τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτα ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδε-
 δωκέναι πάντα ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα 10
 προεἶτο ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ ὧν ἐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν οὖν
 οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἄν
 σου; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. Τίσι
 δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸς Διὸς, ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγμα- 15
 τα εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος
 ἠρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γε-
 νέσθαι ταῦτα ἀγῶνα, ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πε-
 ποιημένοι; καὶ ταῦτα, μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον 20
 ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἠρημένης. Τίς γὰρ
 ἐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ Βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ
 Θηβαίων, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυ-
 ρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περ-
 σῶν βασιλέως, μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμέ- 25
 νως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ, καὶ τὰ
 ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ, τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἑᾶν ἕτε-
 ρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' ἐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς
 ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια, ἐδ' ἀνεκτὰ, ἐδ' ἐμφυ-
 τα· οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παν- 30
 τὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι, τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν, μὴ δίκαια

δὲ πράττουσι, προσθεμένην, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν · ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε. Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ἡμετέ-
 5 ροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖτε. Εἰκότως · τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες, ὑπὲρ
 10 τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιῆσαι; τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα, στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ἀποφηνάμενον Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες · ἢ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῆ. Οὐ γὰρ
 15 ἐζήτην οἳ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτε ῥήτορα, ἔτε στρατηγὸν, δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς · ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίον, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἦγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Δι-
 20 αφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων, τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει · ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ θανάτου φοβερωτέρας ἠγήσεται τὰς
 25 ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. Νῦν
 30 δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ

φρόνημα ἢ πόλις· τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ ἐμαντιῶ μετεῖναί φημι· οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν, ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει γεγενημένῳ, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ 5 ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ, ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτισα ἐμῆ πολιτευσάμενθ, τεδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. Ἄλλ' ἔκ ἔσιν, οὐκ ἔσιν ὅπως 10 ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι· οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τὲς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαγήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἄρ- 15 τεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς, ἔθαπεν, Δισχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὲς κρατήσαντας μόνους· δικαίως. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀν- 20 δρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ, ἦν ὁ δαίμων ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτη κέχρηται.

Ἐπειτ', ὃ κατάρατε, καὶ γραμματοκύνφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι βουλόμενος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ 25 παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες· ὦν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρῶν ἀγῶν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ, ὃ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντα ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ ἀνάξια τούτων ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντ' ἂν 30 ἀπέθανον.

Ἐπειτα, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοπεῖν-
5 τας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις, εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀποβλέποντας ἀξιόματα· καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε, ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ, τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσῆτε κρινούντες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν
10 οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπесῶν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων· ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν ὅθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

15 Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου, καὶ Θειταλῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τὰς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. Ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαν-
20 τῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς οἱ πρέσβεις. Καίτοι, τοσαύτη γε ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι· τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων, ἐμέ
25 καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. Καὶ (ὡς ἔοικεν) ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ, τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τῆ βουλευσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ· τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων, μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. Πῶς
30 ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἂν ἢ καταρατότερος τούτου; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν.

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ-
 ἤγον ἐκείνους προτέρους, διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων
 τάξιν ἔχειν· καὶ παρελθόντες, ἐδημηγόρουν, πολλὰ
 μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατη- 5
 γορῶντες, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πρόποτε ἐναντία ἐπράξατε
 Θηβαίοις ἀναμνησκόντες. Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,
 ἠξίου, ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, χάριν
 αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι· ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηνται, δίκην
 λαβεῖν ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διῦντας αὐτοὺς 10
 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ἢ συννεβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Καὶ
 ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ὄντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβέλεον,
 τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ
 τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ, εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤξοντα· ἐκ δὲ ὧν
 ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν, τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησό- 15
 μενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τού-
 τοις, εἰς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντα, ἔλεγον. Ἄ
 δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντεῖπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίβ·
 ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα μὴ, παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, 20
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμά-
 των ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων
 λόγους νομίσητε. Ἄ δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἂ
 ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε τουτὶ λαβῶν.

ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

25

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετεπέμ-
 ποντο· ἐξίτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε· ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω,
 οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ', ἐξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὄντων, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ
 δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ 30
 τὰ τιμιώτατα. Καίτοι, τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶ-

σιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν
 τὰ κάλλισα· ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης,
 τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ' ὑμῶν
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἀμεί-
 5 νους εἶναι, καὶ δικαιοτέρα ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν ἢ
 Φίλιππον. Καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι
 δὲ ἐν πλείσῃ φυλακῇ, παιδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν
 ποιήσαντες, σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες
 ἔδειξαν. Ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ
 10 γε ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. Οὔτε γὰρ, εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οὐδεὶς ἐδὲν
 ἐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν, ἕτω σῶφρονας παρέσχε-
 τε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώ-
 15 οὺκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυ-
 μαστοὺς ἐδείξατε, τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ
 προθυμίᾳ. Ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν
 ἐγίνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ
 τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ ἔγωγ' ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην,
 20 ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, καὶ ζήλον καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαί-
 νων ἦν ἡ πόλις μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευ-
 φραίνεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων
 καὶ δυσμεναίων ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, οἴκοι
 καθῆτο; εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 25 ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια,
 εἰ, ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο
 μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ
 ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὁμωμοκώτας τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰ δὲ
 μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δί-
 30 καιος, εἰ, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο
 ὄρων; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν· καὶ περιεισῆκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκῶσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις, ἐξ ὧν ἐπέισθητέ μοι. 5 Ἀλλὰ μὴν, οἷας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε, ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμψε. Καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαί, καὶ 10 τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν ἔστος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

Καίτοι, πολλοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ρήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύ- 15 βουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς τούτων πώποτε διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῆ πόλει· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων, οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων, ἐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. Ὑπελείπετο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι 20 γίγνοιτο, ἀναφορὰν. “Τί οὖν (εἴποι τις ἂν), σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμη καὶ τόλμη τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός;” ἔ λέγω ταῦτα· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ 25 προνοίᾳ οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων τις, ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. Ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πρᾶτ- 30 τοντά τι πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι

προθυμότερον, μήτε δικαιότερον. Διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἅπασιν ἔμαντὸν ἔταπτον. Λέγε δὴ τὰς ἐπιστολάς Φιλίππου.

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙΊ.

5 Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἢ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφῆκε δι' ἐμὲ, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαρρόμενος λόγους. Ἄνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί· καὶ σὺ παρῶν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες· ὁ δὲ
10 γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα, τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τρίτου δὲ οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

15 Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ῥήματα ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὕτως· καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὐτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς, οὐτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησε. Καίτοι τότε
20 τὸν Δημομέλην, τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑπερίδην (εἶπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ) μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκε. Διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνης, καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις, καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγο-
25 ρηκέναι ταῦτ' ἀγραφάντων, ἅπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτι ἔαν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. Τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀνεκρίνετο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. Ἄλλ' ἐκ ἧν (οἶμαι) τότε, ἃ νυνὶ ποιεῖ,
30 ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προήδει μηδεὶς, μήτ' ἂν ᾤθη τή-

μερον δηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν· καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. Οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς ἔσης, τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν, καὶ μονονοῦκ 5 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. Διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους φυγῶν, νῦν ὕστερον ἤκει, ρητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων (ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ), καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ 10 λόγων κρίσιν, οὐ τῷ τῆ πόλει συμφέροντος, ἔσεσθαι.

Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἧς μὲν οἰκοθεν ἤκειτ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀμελήσαι· ὡς περ δὲ ὅταν, οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω, λογίζησθε, κἂν καθαραὶ ᾧσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῆ, 15 συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. Θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. Ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος, ὡμολόγηκε νῦν ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχειν 20 ἐγνωσμένους, ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπέιθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει, μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει, μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ δι- 25 δάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμὸς)· ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος.

Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς ἔτιος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν 30 τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν

χώραν (ὃ πάντες ᾄοντο ἔσεσθαι), μεθ' ἡμῶν πα-
 ραταξαμένους, ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν· ἀντὶ δὲ
 τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι, ἑπτακόσια
 στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὄροις
 5 γενέσθαι· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν
 καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ
 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον λαβόντα Βυζάν-
 τιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς
 10 ἐκεῖνον. Ἐγὼ σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λο-
 γισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐχ
 ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψα-
 σθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθηναι, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος,
 ἦν, ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος,
 15 ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη· τῆς δὲ φι-
 λανθρωπίας, ἦν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος
 περιβαλλόμενος, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς, καλῶς
 ποιῶντες, τοὺς καρπούς κεκόμισθε. Ἄλλ' ἔω ταῦ-
 τα. Καὶ μὴν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν
 20 ῥήτορα βουλούμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν, καὶ μὴ συχο-
 φαντεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατη-
 γόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων, καὶ ῥήματα, καὶ
 σχήματα μιμούμενος· (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ
 ὀρθῶς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα, εἰ τοῦτ'
 25 τὸ ῥήμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτ' διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν
 χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα·) ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλεις,
 καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα εἰσῆειν,
 καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστάς ἐγὼ,
 30 καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Εἴτ', εἰ μὲν ἐλάττωσ
 ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκην ἂν ἐδείκνυ-

εσ ὄν· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντεις. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις, τοὺς νησιώ-
 τας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε 5
 γὰρ Χίος, οὔτε Ῥόδος, ἔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν·
 χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα
 τάλαντα· καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξιλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην
 δὲ, ἢ ἰππέα, πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδένα. Ὁ δὲ πάν-
 των καὶ φοβερώτατον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, 10
 οὔτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας
 ἐχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους,
 Εὐβοέας. Τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔτις ὑπῆρχεν ἔχον-
 τα, καὶ εἰδὲς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο εἶδέν·
 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέ- 15
 ψασθε πῶς. Πρῶτον μὲν ἤρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων
 αὐτὸς ὢν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγι-
 σὸν ἐσιν ἀπάντων· εἶθ' οὔτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς
 χερσὶν αἰεὶ· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπρατ-
 τεν ἅ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμα- 20
 σιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
 παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί· ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς
 αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ
 πρὸς τῷτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι 25
 δίκαιον), τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός. Αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ
 δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου
 προϋτίθετε ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ
 ἐμοί· καὶ ὅσα οὔτοι περιγένοιτο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ
 δ' ἐγίγνετο τοιαῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκασον τύχοι πρόφασιν), 30
 ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆειτε βεβουλευμένοι.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἔγωγ' ἐλαττωμάτων, συμμά-
 χους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κοριν-
 θίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυ-
 ραίους· ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι,
 5 *dis* χίλιοι δὲ ἵππεῖς, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων,
 συνήχθησαν. Χρημάτων δὲ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγὼ,
 πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ
 πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαν-
 τίους, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ δι-
 10 αλέγη· πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον, τῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρεων,
 τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς δικασίας ἢ πόλις
 παρέσχετο, καὶ ἐκ ἐλαττωσθαι νομίζεσα, ἐδὲ κρίνεσα
 τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας, οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα
 15 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ)· ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς
 ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι πε-
 ριστάντος, αὐτῇ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάν-
 των σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. Εἴτα κενὰς χαρίζη χά-
 ριτας τετοισί, συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. Τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις
 20 οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὧν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
 παρῶν ταῦτ' ἔγραφε, εἶπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς
 παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς, οὐχ ὅσα ἂν βουλώμεθα,
 ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματα, ἔδει δέχεσθαι; ὁ γὰρ
 ἀντιωνόμενος, καὶ ταχὺ τὸς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνο-
 25 μένους προσδεξόμενος, καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων,
 ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος. Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμέ-
 νοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ περὶ
 τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου, ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ
 προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας, καὶ Θηβῶν,
 30 καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν, ἢ τί
 λέγειν οἴεσθε τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τετρεσί; οὐχ,

ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ, ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα, τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατῆς καθέσθηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπείας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος γέγονε· πόλεμος δ' ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται· ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν· ἐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ, καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον. Τοῦτο δὲ 10 καὶ φύσει κίναδος ἀνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. Τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἤκει τῇ πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεληλυθότων· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ 15 τις ἰατρὸς, ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι, μηδὲ δεικνύοι, δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τελευτήσῃε τις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροίτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα, διεξίοι· “Εἰ τὸ, καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτως, οὐκ ἂν 20 ἀπέθανεν.” Ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἤτταν (εἰ ταύτη γανριᾶς, ἐφ' ἣ στένειν σε, ὦ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν) ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγонуῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. Οὕτωςι δὲ λογίζεσθε. Οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε, ὅπου πρεσβευ- 25 τῆς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἠττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἔδαμόθεν, ἐ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόων ἐκ Θηβῶν· ἀλλ' ἐν 30 οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς

ὄπλοις ἐπιῶν κατεστρέφεται. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνη τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων, καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν, ἓνα ὄντα, κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις·

5 τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἐμὲ ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· ἔτω σκαιὸς εἶ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ρήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτῆμαι. Τί-

10 να οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα, καὶ προαισθῆσθαι, καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ταῦτα πέπρακτά μοι. Καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας, ὄκνες, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήμα-

15 τα, ταῦτα ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συσεῖλαι, καὶ τῆναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὄρμην προτρέψαι. Καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ ποτε ἀνθρώπων εὗροι τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. Εἰ τοίνυν τις ὄντινον ἔροίτο,

20 τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διαφκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν, τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Οὐκῆν, τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ· ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων

25 πρὸς ἐμέ. Καὶ μὴν, τῷ γε μὴ διαφθαρεῖν χρήμασι, κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, εἰάν πρίηται, οὔτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεῖς, νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνόμενον· ὥστε ἀήττητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

30 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην, εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς

ἑτέροις, ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν. Ἄδ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἴστε, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακῶς πάνθ' ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἠνίκα οὐδ' ἀγνω-5
μονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ, πρῶτον μὲν, περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμας γνώ-
μας ἐχειροτόνει· καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων 10
ἐγίγνετο. Ἐπειτα σιτόνην αἰρούμενος, ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησε. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συ-
στάντων, οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γρα-
φὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτα ἐπαγόν-
των μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν 15
μάλιστα ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοηθήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δή-
που καὶ μέμνησθε, ὅτι τρεῖς πρώτους χρόνους, καθ' ἑκά-
στην ἡμέραν ἐκρινόμενη ἐγὼ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σω-
σικλέους, οὔτε σνκοφαντία Φιλοκράτης, ἕτε Διώνδης
καὶ Μελάνου μανία, οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν 20
τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ)· ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι, μάλιστα
μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἅπαντας Ἀθηναίους, ἐσωζόμεν δικαίως.
Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκό-
των καὶ ἐγνωκότων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. Οὐκοῦν, 25
ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτε ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου,
καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν ἔ-
μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν·
ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφυγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν
καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας 30
ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα

πεπραῆχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. Τούτων οὖν ἴτως
 ἔχόντων, τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; οὐχ,
 ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον; οὐχ, ὃ τοὺς ὁμωμοκό-
 5 τας δικαστάς; οὐχ, ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βε-
 βαιῖσαν; ναί φησιν· ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν,
 τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφήν φυγεῖν. Καί, νῆ Δί', εὐδαιμόν
 γε. Ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον, ὃ πολλάκις μὲν φυγῶν, μη-
 δεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν, ἐν ἐγκλήματι γί-
 10 γνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τῆτον,
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τῆ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν
 ἐσί μοι· ἔδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδί-
 ωξε γραφήν. Ὡστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὠμολόγημαι μηδὲν
 εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

15 Πολλαχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμο-
 σύνην αὐτῆ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, ἐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν
 περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. Ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως μὲν ὅστις,
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, παντελῶς
 ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι. Ἦν γὰρ ὃ τὰ βέλτιστα πράττειν
 20 νομίζων, καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος, οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ
 μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, πῶς χρηὴ περὶ ταύ-
 τῆς λέγειν, ἢ πῶς ὄνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος
 πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνῳ
 κέχρηται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 25 καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπι-
 νώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι.
 Ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην, ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι,
 καὶ τοῦθ' ὄρω καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν, καὶ
 τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον μαντευόμενον· τὴν μέντοι
 30 τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἢ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν
 καὶ δεινὴν. Τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων, ἢ τίς Βαρβάρων,

οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐν τῷ παρόντι πε-
 πείραται καιρῷ; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλ-
 λιστα, καὶ τὸ, τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ προεῖντο
 ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἄμεινον
 πράττειν, τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθη- 5
 μι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι, καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἠβουλό-
 μεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι, τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης
 τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω
 τὴν πόλιν. Τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ τὴν
 ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον 10
 εἶναι νομίζω. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτως περὶ τῆς τύχης
 ἐξετάζειν ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἔμαντῷ δοκῶ,
 νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν συνδοκεῖν. Ὁ δὲ, τὴν ἰδίαν
 τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν, τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν
 εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην, τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ 15
 μεγάλης. Καὶ πῶς ἐνι τῷτο γενέσθαι; καὶ μὴν, εἴγε
 τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, Αἰσχίνη, προαιροῦ,
 πρὸς τὴν σαυτῆ σκοπεῖ· καὶ εὖρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω
 τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λαιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. Σκόπει τοί-
 νυν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Καί μου, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν, 20
 μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἠγῆμαι,
 οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς, ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνε-
 ται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τστούτ' τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας
 καὶ συκοφαντίας, εἰς τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν 25
 ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς, ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων, ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι
 μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν
 ὄντι, φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ
 ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἐν- 30
 δειαν· ἐξελθόντι δ' ἐκ παίδων, ἀκόλουθα τούτοις

πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας, μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσῆλθον, ἔδοξέ μοι 5 τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλάκις ἔστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλὰ γε ἦν ἂ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη· καὶ πόλλ' ἂν 10 ἔχων ἕτερόν εἶπειν περὶ αὐτῆς, παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι.

Σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους, σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποία τίνι κέχρησαι τύχη· δι' ἣν, παῖς μὲν ὢν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ 15 πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων, καὶ τὰ βάρη σπογγίζων, καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἔλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων. Ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος, τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνωσκες, καὶ τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ· τὴν 20 μὲν νύκτα, νεβρίζων, καὶ κρατηρίζων, καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους, καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῶ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαριῶ, καὶ κελεύων λέγειν· “Ἐφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον·” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πρόποτε τηλικούτον ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος 25 (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον)· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις, τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τὸς ἔστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθρω καὶ τῇ λεύκη, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κε- 30 φαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν, “Ἐνοῖ Σαβοῖ,” καὶ ἐπορχόμενος “Ἰης Ἀττης, Ἀττης Ἰης·” ἔξαρχος, καὶ

προηγεμῶν, καὶ κιττοφόρος, καὶ λικνοφόρος, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραϊδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τέτων ἐνθρουπτα καὶ στρεπτὸς καὶ νεήλατα· ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημό- 5 τας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπωςδήποτε (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτο), ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ἐνεγράφησ, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, ὑπογραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. Ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγησ ποτὲ καὶ τούτῃ, πάνθ', ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖσ, αὐτὸς ποιήσασ, οὐ κατήσχυ- 10 νασ, μὰ Δι', εἰδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ· ἀλλὰ μισθῶσασ σαντὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμμύκα καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεισ, σῦκα καὶ βότρουσ καὶ ἐλαίας συλλέγων, ὡσπερ ὀπωρώνησ, ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρι- 15 ὠν χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα, ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, ἔσ ὑμεῖσ περὶ τῆσ ψυχῆσ ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν ὁ πρὸσ τοὺσ θεατὰσ πόλεμος· ὑφ' ὧν τὰ πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφῶσ, εἰκότωσ τοὺσ ἀπείρουσ τῶν τοιοῦτων κινδύνων 20 ὡσ δειλοὺσ σκώπτεισ.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖσ ἐξ ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιόσαστ' ἄντεισ, πρὸσ αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. Τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλουσ πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τῷ ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν, εὐτυχέσσης 25 μὲν τῆσ πατρίδοσ, λαγῶ βίον ἔζησ, δεδιῶσ καὶ τρέμων, καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσασθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷσ σαντῷ συνήδεισ ἀδικῶντι· ἐν οἷσ δ' ἠτύχησασ οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺσ ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. Καίτοι, ὅστισ χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρῃησε, τί οὔτωσ παθεῖν 30 ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιόσ ἐστι;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερόν εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ, παραλείψω. Οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδίη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί. Ἐξέτασον 5 τοίνυν παρὰλληλα τὰ σοὶ καὶ μοι βεβιωμένα, πρόως καὶ μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσί, τὴν ὁποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.

Ἐδίδασκες γράμματα· ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. Ἐτέλεις· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτελούμην. Ἐχόρευες· ἐγὼ δ' ἔχορήγην. 10 Ἐγραμμάτευες· ἐγὼ δ' ἔκκλησίαζον. Ἐτριταγωνίστις· ἐγὼ δ' ἔθεώρουν. Ἐξέπιπτες· ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριπτον. Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐὼ τ' ἄλλα. Ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμαζομαι, 15 τὸ δὲ μηδοτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι· σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει· κινδυνεύεις δὲ, εἴτε δεῖ σε ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτε ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι, μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. Ἀγαθῆ δὲ (ἐχ' ὁρᾶς;) τύχη συμβεβιωκῶς, 20 τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης κατηγορεῖς. Φέρε δὴ, καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ πάσας· παρανάγνωθι δ' ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ τὰς δῆσεις ἃς ἔλυμαίνου·

“ Ἦκω λιπῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας· ”

25 καὶ

“ Κάκ' ἀγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με· ”

καὶ, — κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ, ἔπειτα δὲ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα πολίτην, καὶ προδότην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν. Λέγε 30 τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τοῖστος ἐγώ·
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις, εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴσε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλ-
 ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ, καὶ
 οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι, οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην ἂν περὶ τούτων 5
 οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων
 ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε
 τῶν τοιῶτων οὐδέν. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέιληφα·
 ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνηῆσθαι τὸν
 πάντα χρόνον· τὸν δ' εὖ ποιήσαντα εὐθύς ἐπιλε- 10
 λῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστῆ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχῃ
 ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας
 ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν, μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστι
 τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ
 προαχθήσομαι. Ἄλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέιλημμαι περὶ 15
 τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς, ἔτι μικρὰ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ
 ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνῃ, τῶν ὑπὸ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
 ἀνθρώπων, ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ 20
 νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, ἢ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἔστω· συγχωρῶ σοι
 τὴν ἐμὴν, εἴτε τύχην, εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βού-
 λει, πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μη-
 δεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ, μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμῆ, 25
 πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον
 κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ
 δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον, τὴν ἀπάντων (ὡς
 ἔοικεν) ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν, καὶ φορὰν τινα
 πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν, καὶ οὐχ οἷαν ἔδει, τούτων 30
 αἰτίαν ἠγεῖσθαι; σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεῖς, ἐμὲ τὸν

παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾶ· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ-
 δὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς
 βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ
 ἐγὼ κατ' ἑμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ ὦν περὶ τῶν πραγμά-
 5 των ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν
 ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 ἀπάσαις ἀεὶ, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προτί-
 θει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστα εἶναι,
 καὶ μάλιστα σοι· (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρε-
 10 χῶρεῖς ἐλπίδων, καὶ ζήλου, καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα
 προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλὰ τῆς
 ἀληθείας ἠπτώμενος δηλονότι, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν
 εἰπεῖν βέλτιον·) πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς,
 τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὧν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν
 15 βελτίω;

Παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὄρω πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦ-
 τα· ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν; ὄργη καὶ τιμωρία κατ' αὐτῶ·
 ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας
 20 τούτῳ. Οὔτε ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ
 πᾶσι δοκῶντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δὲς, οὐ κατώρθωσε
 μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὄνειδίζει οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ
 τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. Φανήσεται
 τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις,
 25 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ
 τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἦθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν
 τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὠμό-
 τητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχη-
 μάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

30 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ
 μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τῆς λόγους, φυλάττειν

ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσωμαι
 μηδ' ἑξαπατήσω, δεινὸν, καὶ γόητα, καὶ σοφιστήν,
 καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνομάζων· ὡς, ἔάν πρότερός τις εἴποι
 τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως
 ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκευομένους τίς 5
 ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι
 γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τρίτω μᾶλλον
 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι· καὶ κείνο δ' εὖ
 οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα, (ἔστω γάρ· καίτοι
 ἔγωγε ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούον- 10
 τας τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος κυρίους ὄντας· ὡς γάρ ἂν
 ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε, καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας,
 οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν·) εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ
 παρ' ἐμοὶ τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε
 πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ, 15
 καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ· τὴν δὲ τούτου
 τῶνναντίον, οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τῶν, ἢ προσέκρυσέ περ,
 κατὰ τούτων. Οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ
 συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν, 20
 οὔτε τὴν ἐχθραν, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, τὸν
 καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν
 εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βεβαιεῖν, ἐδ' ὑπὲρ
 τέτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν
 ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ με- 25
 τρίως διακείμενον ἔχειν. Ἐν τίσιν ἔν σφοδρὸν εἶναι
 τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν
 ὄλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὸς
 ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ
 γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. Μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδική- 30
 ματος πρόποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίᾳ, δι-

κην ἀξιῶσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ, μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πό-
 λεως, μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, σεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατη-
 γορίαν νῦν ἦκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσουτουσι
 λόγους ἀνηλωκέσαι, ἰδίας ἔχθρας, καὶ φθόνου, καὶ
 5 μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ· τὸ δὲ
 δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα, νῦν
 ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἦκειν, πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν.

Καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν λό-
 γων, ἐπίδειξιν τινα φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσα-
 10 σθαι, τῷτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος
 οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. Ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος
 τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιος, ἐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ τὸ
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν, οὗσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς.
 15 Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ
 πάντ' ἔρει· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προοραταί τινα
 κίνδυνον ἑαυτῆ, τούτους θεραπεύων, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς ὀρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς· ἐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλεί-
 ας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. Ἄλλ' ὀρᾶς; ἐγὼ
 20 ταῦτ' ἀποσφύροντα εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν
 ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. Ἄρ' ἔν οὐδὲ σύ;
 καὶ πῶς; ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς
 ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὅς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς
 χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῆ πατρίδι· καὶ ταῦτ', ἀρ-
 25 νούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ταύτην τὴν
 χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασι. Καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν
 ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἄ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κή-
 ρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μεῖ-
 ζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος,
 30 ἢ τὸ μὴ ταῦτ' ἀποσφύροντα καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν; σὺ τοίνυν
 τοιοῦτος εὐρέθης.

Εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ, καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τουτωνὶ πρόσωπα τολμᾶς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγῆ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσεῖτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καταρῶμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μη-5 δὲν εἶναί σοι καὶ Φιλίππῳ πράγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν, ἔνεκα τῆς ἰδίας ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας, εὐθύς ὠμολόγεις, καὶ προσεποιῶ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, 10 τῇ μισθαργνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα. Ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως, Αἰσχίνῃ, τῷ Γλανκοθέᾳ τῆς τυμπανιστρίας, ξένος, ἢ φίλος, ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχ ὄρω· ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθείρειν τὰ συμφέροντα τουτωνί. 15 Ἄλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερώς αὐτοῖς εἰλημμένος προδότης, καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονώς, ἐμοὶ λοιδορῆ, καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις ἢ ἐμέ.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, 20 καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν ἔκ ἡμνημόνησε. Σημεῖον δέ. Χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἔροῦντι ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα, οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν 25 εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. Καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορῶντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα, ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτι ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ 30 ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γώ. Ἀμφότερα

ἤδεσαν αὐτοὶ, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν. Ἄ γὰρ εὐθηνούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ', ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις, 5 ὠμολογήσατε. Τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν, ὧν ἐφρόνουσιν λαβόντας ἄδειαν, ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἠγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. Εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπελάμβανον τὸν ἐροῦντά τοτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρε-

10 τὴν κοσμήσοντα, μὴθ' ὁμωρόφιον, μὴθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις· μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιανίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντας τιμᾶσθαι· καὶ μηδὲ

15 τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. Τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἔμοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν ἔ. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν, καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. Καὶ οὐχ, ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέ-

20 ρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς, ἄλλως πως· ἀλλὰ, δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τ' ἄλλ' εἴθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἑμοί. Εἰκότως. Γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἕκαστῳ

25 μᾶλλον οἰκειὸς ἦν ἐμῷ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν ἔδεις ἐγγυτέρω. Ὡ γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, ἔτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὄφελον, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχε.

Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ 30 προεείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι· ἐν εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρὸν. Λέγε.

ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

“ Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας, εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
 “ Οπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
 Μαρνάμενοι δ’ ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος, οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 Ψυχὰς, ἀλλ’ αἰδὴν κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβην, 5
 Οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ, ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 Δουλοσύνης, στυγεράν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
 Γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
 Σώματ’, ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις.
 Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν 10
 Ἐν βιοτῇ. Μοῖραν δ’ οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.”
 Ἀκείεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ μηδὲν
 ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν ; οὐ τῷ
 συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
 ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. Τί οὖν, ὃ κα- 15
 τάρατε, ἔμοι περὶ τούτων λαιδορῆ, καὶ λέγεις, ἃ σοὶ
 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν ; πολλὰ
 τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκό-
 τος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, ἐν μάλιστα ἑθαύ-
 μας ἀπάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει 20
 ἀναμνησθεῖς, οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνους οὐδὲ δίκαιος πολί-
 τῆς ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ’ ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ’ ἔπαθεν
 οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τῇ ψυχῇ· ἀλλ’ ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν,
 καὶ γεγηθὼς, καὶ λαρυγγίζων, ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατη-
 γορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ’ ἐξέφερε καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι 25
 τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ἀνιαιοῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς
 ἄλλοις. Καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
 φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ ἔτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
 ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ’ ἔχειν δεῖ, τὸ ταῦτα λυπεῖσθαι καὶ
 ταῦτα χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει 30
 τῶν κοινῶν, ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. “ Ο

σὺ νυνὶ πεποικηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον,
καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πό-
λιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως,
ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν. Ἐπεὶ
5 ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, τοσαῦτα δι' ἐμὲ
ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ
πραττομένη, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν, ὣν
τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. Ἄλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα
φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εἴ-
10 οῖδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαίτε· οὗτός τ', εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει,
οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν
ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἄλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῶ σχετιλιώτερα ἄλλα
κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὅς γὰρ
15 ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, κατηγορεῖ, τί ἔτος
οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι, νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάν-
τας τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴγ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι,
τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόνας
ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν, οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ
20 δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφα-
λὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες· τὲς ὁμοίους τῷ παρ' ἐκάσῃ
τῶν πόλεων εὐροὶ τις ἂν, οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐμοί. Οἶ, ὅτ' ἦν
ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρὰ,
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλούντων,
25 καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτισα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰσχρο-
κερδείας, τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τὲς ὑπάρ-
χοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείρον-
τες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν· Θεταλοὺς, Δάοχος,
Κινέας, Θρασύδαιος· Ἀρκάδας, Κερκιδᾶς, Ἰερῶ-
30 νυμος, Εὐκαλπίδας· Ἀργείους, Μύρτις, Τελάδα-
μος, Μνασέας· Ἡλείους, Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος,

Ἄρισταιχιμος· Μεσσηνίους, οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς
ἐχθροῦ παῖδες, Νέων, καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυωνίαις,
Ἄριστρατος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους, Δείναρχος,
Δημάρατος· Μεγαρέας, Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περί- 5
λαος· Θηβαίους, Τιμόλαος, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας· 5
Εὐβοέας, Ἴππαρχος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος.
Ἐπιλείπει με λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν
ὀνόματα. Οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν,
ὧνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ, καὶ κόλα- 10
κες, καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν
ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες,
πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· τῇ
γασρὶ μετρῶντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίσις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν,
τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην 15
αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες. Ταύτης τοίνυν
τῆς οὕτως αἰσχροῦ καὶ περιβοήτου συστάσεως καὶ
κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας,
εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἢ τε 20
πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ
τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων, καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἶτά
μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δὴ
σοι λέγω ὅτι, τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι
διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων ἀρξάμενων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότε- 25
ρον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου,
ἐμὲ ἔτε καιρὸς, ἔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων, ἔτ' ἐπαγγε-
λιῶν μέγεθος, οὐτ' ἐλπίς, οὐτε φόβος, οὐτε χάρις,
οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο, ὧν ἕκρινα
δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι, οὐδὲν προδοῦ- 30
ναι· οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πάποτε τουτοισὶν,

ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἶ ἐν τρυτάνῃ, ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ
 λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
 καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς πάντα μοι πέπρακται·
 καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἔμαντὸν ἀν-
 5 θρώπων προστάς, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως
 πεπολίτευμαι. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ
 τὴν ταφρεῖαν, ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω·
 (πῶς γὰρ οὔ;) πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἔμαντῶ πε-
 10 πολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. Οὐ γὰρ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν
 πόλιν, οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον
 τῶν ἔμαντοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν
 βούλει δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα, καὶ πόλεις,
 καὶ τόπους, καὶ λιμένας, καὶ ναῦς, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ
 15 πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. Ταῦτα
 προὔβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρω-
 πίνῳ λογισμῶ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χῶ-
 ραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον μόνον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ
 ἄστεος. Οὐδέ γ' ἠττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φι-
 20 λίππου (πολλῆ γε καὶ δεῖ), οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς·
 ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις
 τῆ τύχῃ. Τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς
 καὶ φανεραῖ· σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὐνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν; τί τὸν μετὰ
 25 πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θα-
 λάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς,
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς
 Πελοπόννησον τόπων, τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν
 30 σιτοπομπείαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ
 Πειραιῶς κομισθῆσεται προιδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶ-

σαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας, καὶ λέ-
 γοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόνησον, τὴν
 Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον· τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκειὰ καὶ
 σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξῃ, προᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυ- 5
 δον, τὴν Πέρινθον; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρ-
 χουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλι-
 πε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ὑμῖν
 ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς
 ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν. Ἄ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βέληται σκο- 10
 πεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει, καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύ-
 νῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα, ἐδ' ἀγνο-
 ηθέντα, οὐδὲ προδοθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς
 ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἤκεν, ἐδὲν ἐλλει-
 φθέν. Εἰ δ' ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχύς, ἢ 15
 στρατηγῶν φαυλότης, ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις
 ὑμῶν κακία, ἢ πάντα ταῦθ' ἅμα ἐλυμήνατο τοῖς
 ὄλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψε, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ
 δ', οἷος ἦν ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ τάξιν,
 εἷς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, 20
 μᾶλλον δ', εἰ ἓνα μόνον ἄνδρα Θετταλία, καὶ ἓνα
 ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία, ταῦτ' ἀφρονεῖντα ἔσχον ἐμοί, ἐδεῖς
 οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε τῶν εἴσω, τοῖς
 παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν· ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες
 ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας, ἀσφα- 25
 λῶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὤκεν πατρίδας, τῶν
 τοσέτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν, ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. Ἴνα δ' εἰδῆτε
 ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων,
 εὐλαβέμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ, καὶ ἀνά- 30
 γνωθὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ
 ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.

ἈΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ· (ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, ἐν μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀναμφισβη- 5 τήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν· ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων, τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι, καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν, τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν·) οὐ, μὰ Δί', ἀποσάν- 10 τα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς, ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, θεραπεύειν· οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, βασκαίνειν· ἐὰν δέ 15 τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνηῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν· εἰδ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἀδίκον καὶ ὑπουλον, ὡς σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. Ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμ- φέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. Ἄλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυ- 20 χίαν· πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἀλλ' ἀποστάς, ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξη, τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ), φυλάττει ὀπηνίκα ἔστὲ μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα, ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα)· εἴτ' ἐπὶ 25 τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας, ὡσπερ πνεῦμα, ἐφάνη· καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς, καὶ συνειλοκῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους, συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστὶ, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας, οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόν- 30 τι τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. Καίτοι ταύ- τῃς τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἶπερ

ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος
 συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γεν-
 ναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι,
 συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου
 κατασκευῆν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀπο-⁵
 δειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. Τέτων γὰρ ἀπάν-
 των ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ
 παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε
 καὶ ἀγαθῷ· ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγωνῶς, οὐ
 πρῶτος, ἢ δεύτερος, ἢ τρίτος, ἢ τέταρτος, ἢ πέμπτος,¹⁰
 οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποστοςοῦν· οὐκουν, ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἡ
 πατρίς ηὐξάνετο. Τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαν-
 τος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια, ἢ κτήσις εὐνοί-
 ας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία, τίς διακονία, δι' ἣν ἡ
 πόλις ἐντιμότερα γέγονε; τί τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ τῶν¹⁵
 Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται
 διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοι-
 κοί; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν
 ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς
 ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων παρὰ²⁰
 σοῦ; ἔδεμία. Ἄλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τέτων, εὐνοιά
 γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων
 ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πάποτ' ἐφθέγγαν-
 το ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ
 τοτελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον ἀργύρι-²⁵
 ον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν· οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθες,
 οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν. Οὐκ ἀπορῶν· πῶς γάρ; ὅς
 γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ
 χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πέντε ταλάντων· διτάλαντον
 δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεάν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν³⁰
 συμμοριῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων, τοῦ παρόντος ἔμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. Ἄλλ' ὅτι γε οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον· ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ
5 σοῦ τούτοις, οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύη.

Ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας, καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἤνικ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τι κατὰ τούτων δέοι, ἐν τούτοις λαμ-
προφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης. Εἷτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημέ-
10 νων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν μέμνησαι· καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. Οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν προ-
λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ, τὸν συζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. Τίς γὰρ
15 οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεσί-
τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἑδεῖς ἔτι μισεῖ; ἔτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῆ φύσει, πρὸς τὴς πρὸ ἔμαυτῆ νῦν ἐγὼ κρί-
νομαι καὶ θεωροῦμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον
20 οὔτ' ἴσον, Δισχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ, καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει, τῶν ταυτά σοι προηρημένων, καὶ ζώντων. Κακεῖνο σκόπει· πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῆ πόλει, διὰ τὰς τῶν προτέρων εὐεργεσίας, ἕσας ὑπερ-
μεγέθεις, οὐμενουν εἰποὶ τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν
25 παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας, εἰς ἀχαρισίαν καὶ προπη-
λακισμὸν ἄγειν· ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράτ-
τουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκο-
30 πῆ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία, καὶ ταυτά βεβλομένη φανήσεται· ἢ δὲ σῆ, ταῖς τῶν τοὺς

τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι
 καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες τοὺς χρόνους, οἱ διασύ-
 ροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημέ-
 νους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πράγμα καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιοῦν-
 τες σοί. Ἐῖτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὁμοίός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 5
 ἐγώ· σὺ δ' ὁμοίος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός;
 ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ρητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα
 φημί. Ἄλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ᾧ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μη-
 δὲν ἄλλο εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε, καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐ-
 τὸν, ὥσπερ τᾶλλα πάντα, τὲς ποιητὰς, τὲς χορᾶς, τὲς 10
 ἀγωνιστὰς. Ὁ Φιλάμμων, οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ
 Καρυστίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων
 ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀσεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμ-
 πίας ἀπῆει· ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἀριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο, καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύε- 15
 το. Καὶ σὺ, πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ρήτορας, πρὸς
 σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδενὶ
 ἐξίσταμαι, ᾧ, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι
 παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλον τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν
 κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτις ἀλέγων ἐφαινόμην, 20
 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καὶ νόμοις, καὶ πρεσβείαις,
 ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο· ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμῶ, πλὴν
 εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ἂ μή
 ποτ' ὄφελε, συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων, καὶ τῶν 25
 κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρεῖν ἐτοίμων, καὶ τῶν
 κολακεύειν ἐτέρους βεβλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦ-
 τα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει, καὶ μέγας, καὶ
 λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος· ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενῆς, ὁμολογῶ,
 ἀλλ' εὐνοὺς μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

Ἀπό δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτα τὸν φύσει μέ-
 τριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἑμαυτῆ
 λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν)· ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξε-
 σίαις, τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρωτείου τῆ
 5 πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν· ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ
 καὶ πράξει τὴν εὐνοίαν. Τέττε γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία·
 τῆ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν, ἑτέρα. Ταύτην τοίνυν
 παρ' ἑμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς· ὁρᾶτε δέ.
 Οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπα-
 10 γόντων μοι, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων,
 οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους, ὥσπερ θηρία, μοι
 προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς
 ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. Τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὀρθὴν καὶ
 δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς,
 15 τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας, τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θε-
 ραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. Οὐκ
 ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γε-
 γηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν
 προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις, οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖ-
 20 σε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἶωμαι· τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν
 πεφρικῶς ἀκούω, καὶ στένων, καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν
 γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἱ τὴν μὲν πόλιν
 διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν
 τοῦτο ποιῶσιν· ἐξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχη-
 25 σάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαι-
 νοῦσι, καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμενεῖ, φασὶ
 δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὧ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι-
 νεύσειεν· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τέτοις βελτίω τινα
 30 νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἔχουσιν οὕτως
 ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἐξώλεις

καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσαίτε· ἡμῖν
δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρ-
τημένων φόβων δότε, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON.

Page

2 Line 1. Τῆν μὲν παρασκευὴν, κ. τ. λ.] *You see, Athenians, the preparation, the array, and the solicitations in the forum, employed by a certain party, in order that the regular and usual practice may not be followed in the state.* The Exordium of Æschines has very great beauties; and, we may say, conforms to all the rules of the art. It is not a commonplace introduction that might be put, with equal propriety, at the head of any harangue. It is adapted so exactly to this one, that it could not be used for any other, unless the subject were precisely similar. We immediately recognise Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, although they are not mentioned. They are represented as factious men, grounding their hopes entirely upon intrigue, and appearing before the tribunal with an escort, rather suited to generals offering battle, than to orators coming to plead a cause. All that Æschines adds afterwards, is derived immediately from the subject. According to the rules of eloquence, an exordium ought to have three qualities; it should make the audience favorable, attentive, and tractable. Each of these is found in the Exordium of Æschines. The orator gains the good will of the judges, when he declares that he confides entirely in the laws and in them, τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, and that the interest of the state alone obliges him to speak; he excites their attention, by the long list of disorders that certain persons had introduced into the republic; and finally he renders them disposed to enter into what he is about to say, by showing the importance of reforming these abuses; and by declaring that

his object is no less, than to preserve the popular government, 2 and the liberty of the people, now in danger. Some rhetoricians blame this introduction, as too pathetic, and call it a peroration, rather than an exordium. But if they reproach Æschines for this supposed fault, with much greater reason should they blame Demosthenes, who addresses all the gods and goddesses at once, as if he wished, by his prayers, to interest all Olympus in the quarrel. So far from thinking that there is any thing to be objected to either of these orators, it seems to me that they have given to their discourse only the proper degree of warmth; a warmth which would become the opening of any cause of the highest importance to the two parties.

3. καὶ τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους,] *and the Senate of Five 3 Hundred.* To distinguish it from the Senate of Arcopagus, which was permanent. Athens was divided into ten tribes. Each of them chose, every year, by lot, fifty senators; who together composed the Senate of Five Hundred. Each tribe, in turn, held the chief rank, and then yielded it to one of the others. The fifty senators in office were called *πρυτάνεις*, *Prytanes*; the particular place in which they assembled, *πρυτανεῖον*, *Prytaneum*; and the time of their employment, *πρυτανεῖα*, *Prytania*, which lasted thirty-five or thirty-six days. During this time, ten out of the fifty presided every week, with the title of *πρόεδροι*, *Proedri*; and he who was president of these upon each particular day in the week, was called *ἐπιστάτης*, *Epistates*. The senators from the other tribes in the mean time continued to give their votes, according to the rank assigned them by lot; but the Prytanes called the assembly; the Proedri explained the cause, and the Epistates asked their opinions.

4. καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας] *and the assemblies.* There were two kinds of assemblies, the common, *κύρῳ ἐκκλησίαι*, and the extraordinary, *κατακλησίαι* or *σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι*. Of the former, which the Prytanes had alone the right of calling, there were four held, during each Prytania, upon appointed days, and upon fixed subjects. The latter were convoked sometimes by the Prytanes,

3 and sometimes by the Generals ; and were held upon any day and any subject, as occasion offered. The assembly was opened by a sacrifice, and with an imprecation against any one who should do, say, or think any thing against the republic. After this the Proedri explained to the people the object of the meeting ; declared the opinion of the Senate of Five Hundred, and called on them to ratify, amend, or disapprove this opinion. If the people did not approve it immediately, a herald, appointed by the Epistates, cried out in a loud voice, “ Let any one above fifty years old, who wishes, speak ; and then the rest of the Athenians in order.” Thus they ascended the *tribune* in turn ; and after the harangues, each one gave his opinion, by pointing with his hand to the orator whose address had pleased him most. Six thousand citizens were necessary for passing a decree ; which was drawn up, after the votes were counted, and inscribed with the name of the orator, or senator, whose opinion had prevailed.

5. καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων] The laws of Solon ordered that age should determine each one’s rank ; and that the orators should ascend the *tribune*, beginning with those who were over fifty, and going down in order ; in accordance with the law of nature, which dictates that old and wise heads should direct others. But these wise laws had not been in force for about fifty-seven years ; since they were abolished under the Archon Glaucippus. But although revoked, they were still obeyed ; since reason, herself, teaches the young the duty of respecting the old. Æschines here prays for the entire restoration of these laws, the neglect of which had caused such disorders.

27. μετ’ ὀργῆς κρίνοισι,] The word ὀργή has sometimes a more extensive meaning than *anger*. It expresses the general character ; the manners and turn of mind, the passions, affections, and inclinations ; and sometimes is used in a good, sometimes in a bad sense. Different writers use it in all these ways. Pindar says (Pyth. II, 141.), ὀργαῖς ἀτινὲς ἀλωπέκων ἴκελοι, *entirely resembling foxes in their dispositions* ; and (Pyth. I, 173.) to express the benevolent character of one of

his heroes, he uses the same word, εὐανθεῖ ἐν ὀργᾷ παρμένον, 3 *continuing in your noble character*. In short, this word is used just as μένος, which means sometimes *anger, rage*, and sometimes merely the *disposition of mind*; εὐμενής, *well-inclined*, δυσμενής, *ill-inclined*. Hence we can understand the meaning of Æschines when he says, οἱ κολιτροῦσι μετ' ὀργῆς, *who pass sentence through passion*. The word *anger* is implied in it.

2. οὐθ' ἢ προσδρεύουσα φυλῆ,] We have already said that 4 Athens was divided into ten tribes. They took their names from ten heroes of the country, and occupied each a part of Athens, together with certain towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Their names were as follows; the Acamantian tribe, so named from Acamas, son of Theseus; that of Ajax, from Ajax, son of Telamon; the Antiochian, from Antiochus, son of Hercules; the Cecropian, from Cecrops, the founder and first king of Athens; the Ægean, from Ægeus, the ninth king of Athens, and father of Theseus; the Erecthean, from Erectheus, sixth king of Athens; the Hippothoonian, from Hippothoon, son of Neptune; the Leontian, from Leo, who sacrificed his daughters for the safety of his country; the Cnean, from Cneus, son of Pandion; the Pandionian, from Pandion, the fifth king of Athens. The number of tribes was not always the same. It varied as Athens increased. There were at first only four; soon after, six; then ten, as in the time of our orators; and finally, thirteen. For to the ten that we have already mentioned, the Athenians added three others; when, having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to Flattery, the daughter of Servitude. These three tribes were the Ptolemæan, in honor of Ptolemy, son of Lagus; the Attalian, so called from Attalus, king of Pergamus; and the Adrianian, from the emperor Adrian. They took a certain number from the old tribes, to form these new ones.

20. καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης] *the lawgiver*. This word, when found without any other epithet, in the writings of the ancient orators, is generally applied to Solon; to whom they gave the title of Lawgiver, by way of eminence.

5 2. ἀλλ' ὡςπερ — τὴν ἡμέραν.] *But as each of you would be ashamed to desert his post in battle; so consider it a disgrace, this day, to abandon the post assigned you by the laws, that of guardians of the constitution.* This comparison is found in most of the ancient orators, who were particularly fond of it; as indeed it is in itself great and noble. But it was never more happily employed than by Æschines, who alludes to the cowardice of Demosthenes, who in the battle of Chero-nea threw down his buckler and fled. This remark is the more delicate and cutting, as it is free from all appearance of intentional allusion.

22. περὶ — τῶν νόμων, — περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων,] *Laws relating to those who were required to give up their accounts.* All those who had any charge, any jurisdiction or office, in Athens, were obliged to give up their accounts when they left the office. Before performing this duty, they could not dispose of any thing that belonged to them, or even leave Athens, on any pretence whatever.

6 14. κατιδὼν δέ τις — νομοθέτης,] *A certain lawgiver, and not the lawgiver, which would mean Solon.* So that in this place the Greek word signifies one of the magistrates appointed to correct the ancient laws, by removing those which were injurious, and by proposing new ones, as circumstances required.

25. ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ.] *When he shall have given up his accounts and proved them correct.* Λόγος καὶ εὐθύνας are synonymes inseparably united by custom; as in English we say, You are answerable for the *cost and charges*. But still these two words are not exactly synonymous. Λόγος means an account, εὐθύνας, the proofs of the correctness of the account, αἱ τῶν διοικημένων ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δοκιμασίαι, καὶ ἐξετάσεις, καὶ ἀπολογισμοί.

7 7. αἰρετός ὢν] *being chosen.* Athens had different kinds of magistrates, who were either αἰρετοί, or κληρωτοί, or χειροτονητοί. Αἰρετοί, being certain magistrates chosen either by a tribe in Athens, or by a small town in Attica, and engaged in some office, either with or without the right of jurisdiction at-

tached to it. They were the lowest kind of magistrates; and ⁷ the small town or tribe only chose them on certain occasions, when the republic had ordered it by a previous decree. *Κληρωτοὶ*, were the magistrates appointed by lot, by the *Thesmothetæ*, in the temple of Theseus. The people nominated the candidates who should be chosen from, by lot. They proceeded in this way; they had as many small pieces of brass, *πινάκια χαλκᾶ*, as there were candidates, upon which they wrote their names, and threw them into an urn, with an equal number of black and white beans. They then drew out a name, with a white or a black bean; and he whose name came with a white bean, was declared magistrate elect. *Κυάμοις τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι*, said the law. *Διεκλήρουν τὰς ἀρχὰς κυάμῳ, καὶ ὁ τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον λαβὼν ἐλάγχανεν*, says Hesychius. Hence they called them indiscriminately *κληρωτοὶ* and *κυαμευτοὶ*. This formality was not always observed. The Athenians neglected it very properly when, without trusting at all to fortune, they were wise enough to oblige Aristides to accept the office of chief Archon. They thought that they might violate a law, in favor of a man who would observe, and cause others to observe, all other laws, with such exactness. Lastly, the *χειροτονητοὶ* were the magistrates whom, when nominated by the *Thesmothetæ*, the people chose by a plurality of voices, in the *Pnyx*, a place appropriated to this purpose, near the citadel. The people gave their votes by stretching out their hands, *τείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας*, and hence the magistrates elected in this way were called *χειροτονητοὶ*. This detail is necessary, in order to understand the first part of the oration of *Æschines*, which turns almost entirely upon it. He says that *Demosthenes* would allege, that he was not obliged to give up his accounts, as only being one of the *αἰρετοὶ*, who were not obliged to do so; and at the same time refutes the subterfuge of his adversary, by proving by the laws, that every magistrate, without distinction, who had the management of any of the public money, or who passed sentence, was accountable; and that *Demosthenes*, in either case, must give an account of what he had done.

7 8. ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία.] *This was not a magistracy, but a kind of commission, or agency.* Aristotle, in the fourth book of his Politics, defines thus the two distinctions; “We call those magistrates ἀρχάς, who, by the nature of their office, have the right of passing sentence, and who are particularly characterized by their giving orders; ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ ἐπιζήται are those who have not, ex officio, the same right.” Æschines shows, that as these rights were found in the commission of Demosthenes, he must have held an ἀρχή, and not an ἐπιμέλεια.

9. οἱ θεσμοθέται] *The Thesmothetæ* were six magistrates who were chosen annually at Athens, to be the guardians and preservers of the laws. They had to examine them, and prevent any abuses from creeping in. We see here that they disposed of certain offices, by lot.

24. ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων] *The right of presiding at a tribunal.* It is to be understood in this way; it seems that at Athens there were several inferior tribunals, for deciding the differences of those who were employed upon the public works; and that he who presided at these tribunals judged of these causes, in the last resort. Æschines says that these judges were accountable; and that Demosthenes was therefore accountable, since, when repairing the walls, he had exercised this jurisdiction over the public workmen.

30. τὸν γραμματεῖα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς,] The former was he who read the decrees in public, and who kept the archives; the latter were judges so called; *the receivers of accounts.* They were ten in number. Παρ’ οἷς οἱ προσβεύσαντες, ἢ τι δημόσιον δικάσαντες, ἢ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντες ἐδίδοσαν τὰς εὐθύνας.

8 19. ἐπιδέδωκα — μνᾶς ἑκατὸν,] Ἐπιδιδόναι means, *to give something of your own, to contribute voluntarily.* An Attic mina was worth between nine and ten dollars. So that the sum that Demosthenes had given to the state was between nine and ten hundred dollars.

9 1. Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας] Families of priests; so called because they were descended from *Eumolpus* and *Ceryx*, ancient priests of Athens. They had their duties regulated at

the festival of Eleusis, that is, at the mysteries of Ceres, instituted, as was pretended, by one of the ancestors of Eumolpus.

2. *τρηγάρχους*] This word means in itself *commanders of galleys*; but custom had given it, at Athens, a different signification. It was applied to those citizens in easy circumstances, who were obliged, as such, to equip galleys, at their own expense, for the service of the republic.

11. *τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρειῷ πάγῳ*] *The Areopagus*; a tribunal at Athens, famous in antiquity; celebrated for the wisdom and equity of its decisions. The name means, *Hill of Mars*; according to some, because Mars, accused of murder, by Neptune, was tried by the gods in form, and condemned, in that place; and according to others, because the Amazons, carrying on war against Theseus, and besieging Athens, encamped on that hill, where they offered a splendid sacrifice to Mars. Authors are not agreed as to the situation of this hill. Some, with considerable probability, suppose it was opposite the citadel; and others, that it was in the citadel itself. The Areopagus was called also *ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ*, either in reference to its authority, or to the situation of the place in which it was held. We are ignorant of the time of its establishment; and can only form conjectures concerning it. The number of senators in this tribunal was not determined, and there are various opinions respecting it. All those of the nine Archons who performed their duties, each year, with public approbation, were in consequence, senators of the Areopagus. It will be sufficient here to give the names that have been applied to it by different authors, to show its reputation; *ἔθνημα λώρα, ἀρούρημα γῆς, πόλειως σωτήριον*.

13. *καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν, κ. τ. λ.*] *and this august assembly, the arbiter of the most important affairs, brings under your control*. I have preferred making the word *σκυθρωπὸν* agree with *βουλῆν*, instead of putting it in the genitive plural; since the sense is thus incomparably better, and more analogous as well to the etymology, as to the signification and application of the word *σκυθρωπός*.

- 9 15. *Ὀὐκ ἄρα — τρυφῶσι.*] *Shall not, then, the Senate of the Areopagus be crowned? Their predecessors have not handed down this usage to them. Are they not then fond of honors? certainly; but they are not satisfied that every one among them should be free from injustice, but also punish every one who commits any fault; whilst your orators give themselves up to every indulgence.* The senators of the Areopagus held a perpetual magistracy, and being always accountable could never be crowned; consequently, they loved virtue for herself alone, and not for her rewards. In our days we hunt with the lantern of Diogenes for men who think and act like those of the Areopagus; and if there are any, they are to be found only in republics or governments nearly like them.
- 10 20. *τάλαντα*] A talent was worth sixty minæ; a mina, a hundred drachms; a drachm, six oboli, or nearly the eighth part of an ounce.
- 11 2. *ἄρχοντες*] The Archons were the principal magistrates of Athens. She was at first governed by kings, of whom there were seventeen. The last of them was Codrus; who generously sacrificed himself for his country. In a war between the Athenians and Dorians, Codrus having learned from the Oracle, that the nation whose king should be killed, would gain the victory, escaped from his guards in disguise, and having entered the camp of the enemy, caused himself to be put to death. The Athenians, rightly fearing that they should never find so good a king, abolished royalty, and created the Archons; of whom there were three kinds. First, were the Archons for life; who succeeded the monarchical government, and of whom there were thirteen, in order. Medon, son of Codrus, was the first, and Alcmaeon the last. This kind of government lasted nearly three hundred years. Then followed the Archons chosen for ten years; of these there were seven; Charops being the first, and Eryxias, the last. This species of magistracy lasted only fifty years. Finally, they limited the power of the Archons to one year. There was an immense number of annual Archons; for they began to govern in the year 685 before Christ, when Numa Pom-

pilius was king at Rome, and in the year 59 after Christ, there 11 was still an Archon at Athens. But the last of them were dependent on the Romans. Still, however, they did not appoint only one annual archon; there were nine chosen, who, all together and at the same time, possessed the sovereign authority. The first was the Archon, so called by way of eminence; the second had the title of king; the third that of Polemarch; and the six others were called Thesmothetæ. The Archon was the head of the state, uniting in his person the executive and judicial powers; and all public acts and events were dated from him. The king had the department of religion; the Polemarch that of war; and the Thesmothetæ the care and revision of the laws. Before Solon, the election of these magistrates was by suffrage; but he thought it better that they should be appointed by lot, and having undergone an examination, should be finally approved and confirmed by the people. When the year of their administration was finished, having given up their accounts and given satisfaction with respect to them, they became senators of the Areopagus. It was under this kind of government that Athens was most flourishing; and the most illustrious Archons were Draco, Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Acibiades, &c.

11. ἀντιγραφεὺς] Corresponding to the word *controller*. Ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῇ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα. Harpocraton.

17. ἀποδεκτῶν.] This office answers to that of *receiver, treasurer*. Ἀποδέκται ἀρχὴ τίς ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἧς πολλάκις μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες καὶ οἱ κωμικοί. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ δεδήλωκεν, ὡς δέκα τε εἴησαν καὶ ὡς παραλαμβάνοντες τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα τῆς βουλῆς ἐναντίον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ ἅπλῳ ἅ προαίτουσι διασαφεῖ. Harpocr.

18. νεωρίων ἀρχὴν.] Literally, *superintendency of ship-houses*; and more freely, *of the navy*. Λιμὴν is properly *the harbour*; ὄρμος, from ἔρμα, *every place where vessels are at anchor*; ναύσταθμος, *the place in the harbour where the vessels are*;

11 *νεώρια* and *νεώριοι*, mean the same thing, viz. buildings erected in the harbour in which they put their vessels under cover, *τόποι εἰς οὓς αἱ νῆες ἀνέλκονται*. Homer calls these houses *ἐπίσιον*, Ionic for *ἐφέσιον*.

18. *σκευοθήκη*] *arsenal*, ἡ τῶν πολεμικῶν σκευῶν ἀποθήκη.

12 2. *Θαργηλιῶνος*] The month of *July*. So called because during this month they celebrated the feast of the sun, called *Θαργήλια*, from *θέρων γῆν ἥλιος*, *the sun heating the earth*.

2. *δευτέρα φθίνοντος*] *The twenty-ninth*. The Athenians divided their month into three portions of ten days each. They called the first day *νουμηνία*, from *νέος* and *μήνη*, *new moon*, and the other days *μηνὸς ἰσαμένου δευτέρα*, κ. τ. λ. and so on, to the *tenth*, *δεκάτη*. Beyond this number they counted *πρώτη*, κ. τ. λ. *μηνὸς μεσοῦντος* or *ἐπὶ δέκα*, to the *twentieth*, *εἰκάς*. The fifteenth day was called *πανσέληνος* *full moon*, from *πᾶν* and *σελήνη*. They named the last day of every month *ἐν καὶ νέα*, *old and new moon*, *μήνη* being understood. And during the last ten days they counted backward; adding the word *φθίνοντος* or *λήγοντος*, *δεκάτη*, *ἐνάτη*, κ. τ. λ. to express *the twenty-first, twenty-second, and so on*; as if we should say, *ten days, nine days, &c. before the end of the month*. They said, however, sometimes *πρώτη ἀπιόντος*, or *ἐπὶ εἰκάδι*, or *μετὰ εἰκάδα*, and so on, to the last of the month; following the natural order. Some, however, consider *ἀπιόντος*, as having the same construction and force as *φθίνοντος*.

4. *Σκιροφοριῶνος*] The month of *August*. During this month they celebrated the feast of Minerva called *Σκιροφόρια*, from *φέρειν σκίρον*, *to bear a canopy*; because they carried a canopy in the procession in honor of the goddess. *Σκίρον σκιάδιόν ἐστι, μεθ' οὗ φερόμενοι ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τινα τόπον καλούμενον σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἱερεία, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεὺς, καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου*. Harpocr. Those who write it with *ῥῶ* must derive it from a singular etymon.

28. *τριτύες*] *Τριτύς ἐστι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς φυλῆς· αὕτη γὰρ διήρηται εἰς τρία μέρη, τριτὴν καὶ ἔθνη καὶ φρατρίδας, ὡς φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ*. Harp. This was then *the third of a tribe*; and each third was divided into *thirty families*, εἰς τριάκοντα γένη.

29. οἱ δῆμοι] *boroughs*. These were about one hundred 12
and seventy-four in number; and were divided among the ten
tribes. In signatures, contracts, and judicial acts, an Athen-
ian annexed to his name, that of his father, and of the bor-
ough to which he belonged.

31. ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν.] *turn proclamations to pur-* 13
poses of interest. Ἐργολάβος, ὁ φλαύροις πράγμασι χρώμενος
παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ὑπὲρ τινῶν ἔργων μισθὸν λαμβάνων
καὶ ἔχων τοὺς συνεργηζομένους, ὡς ἡ συνήθεια. Bekker. Anecdd.
p. 259.

5. Πυκνὴ] Πυκνὸς τόπου ὄνομα, ἐν ᾧ δῆμος ἐκκλησιάζων συνήγε- 14
το. *A place where the people sometimes held their assemblies.*
Some say that the oblique cases were declined Πυκνός, Πυκνὴ,
for euphony; but I see no discord in saying Πυκνὴ, and at
the same time we avoid the ambiguity arising from the word
πυκνός. Still however, it is probable that it takes its name
from πυκνὰ ἐκεῖ συνελεῖν, *to assemble often*; or from πεπνύ-
σθαι, *to be prudent*. Notwithstanding its decrees were not
always dictated by prudence. Καίτοι μυθίων ἐκεῖ ἀνοήτων καὶ
βδελυγῶν πολλὰκις ἐκκλησιασάντων, καὶ βλαβερὰ τῇ πόλει ψηφισα-
μένων. Wolfius.

20. κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν] *by stealing away your atten-*
tion; or deceiving your ears. Homer employs the word κλέπτω,
in the same sense, *Iliad, A. 131.*

Μὴ δ' οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν, θεοεἰκέλ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Κλέπτε νόμῳ· ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσειαι, οὐδέ με πείσεις.

31. σνηγόρους τοὺς νόμους] *I will produce your laws for my*
advocates. This expression is full of force and energy. The
laws seem to be present, to escort, to surround Æschines;
and in concert with him, to speak, to cry out against the pre-
varications of Demosthenes.

5. δύο — ὑπεναντίους] *two laws upon the same subject, op-* 15
posed to each other. Nothing injures a state so much as con-
tradictory laws; they open a door for evasion; every one has
a law for obeying or disobeying, as he pleases. Truth being
one and unchangeable, whatever is variable and subject to
contradictions has not its character.

15 20. τῶν ἐπωνύμων,] *the statues of the heroes, whose names were given to the ten tribes.*

16 26. μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι] *to be more honored.* The word τιμᾶς is understood; without its being necessary to insert it in the text, or to change μείζοσι into μειζόνως, since the idiom is very common in Greek.

19 18. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν,] *For why is it necessary now to mention these things?* Æschines, by saying that it was not necessary to relate three adventures very disagreeable to Demosthenes, recalls them in a very malignant and cruel manner. The first was the dispute that he had had with Demomeles, his kinsman, who had given him several blows, and whom he had therefore delivered up to the tribunal of the Areopagus. He was suspected on this occasion of having scarred his own head, to make him pay for it. The second was his baseness in becoming the accuser of Cephisidotus, whom he ought for every reason to have defended. The third was the blow that he received from Midias in the full theatre.

23. Κηφισιδότου] *Cephisidotus* having besieged Halopconesus, and being denounced for his stipulations with Charidemus and condemned, payed a fine of five talents.

25. καὶ περιάγων] It seemed to be an honor to the commander on board whose vessel the general went; since he seemed to prefer his galley to others, as being better constructed.

23 4. παρ' ἐκείνου, τοὺς δέ] In other editions it is καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα, *and not having waited for his ambassadors,* (those of Philip). But this is contrary to history and to what follows soon after, μόνος — ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρῳ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, *he only proposed to stipulate with the herald and ambassadors of Philip.* So that it would be an evident contradiction in Æschines, to say that Demosthenes had not waited for the ambassadors, whom his own words prove to have been present. Various corrections have been proposed for this passage; some think the words παρ' ἐκείνου superfluous, and that he is speaking of the ambassadors whom the Athenians had sent against him;

others suppose the words οὐκ ἀναμείναντα are an interpolation, 23 and then it would refer to the ambassadors of Philip. Toureil proposes to put παρ' ἐκείνων which would be undoubtedly the best correction, and the sense would be, *not waiting for the ambassadors sent against him*; but the expression κατ' ἐκείνου, would be still more probable and more according to usage. For my part, I have corrected it by inserting τοὺς δὲ which had probably been effaced. Not only does the sense become clear and include the two ideas; *having flattered Philip and his envoys*, (εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, κ. τ. λ. p. 28 l. 3.) *and not having waited for our ambassadors*; but the ear is also gratified.

7. Κερσοβλέπτην,] *Cersobleptes* was the successor, although a younger son of Cotys, that cruel king, who shamefully slew his wife from jealousy. Cotys amused the Athenians by the show of a warm attachment as long as he had need of them in his ambitious projects, and afterwards broke his engagements. When the Athenians declared him a citizen of Athens, *I*, said he, *will make them citizens of Thrace*. Their friendly intercourse ended in a quarrel. The fortune of his son was exactly the reverse; for after a short war relating to the Chersonesus, the necessity of joining against their common enemy, Philip, reconciled them, and united them by all the ties of common wants.

22. οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν,] The first means, *chosen by lot*, so that it related to the candidates for senators and magistrates, afterwards, to every one who was chosen by lot; another ἐπελάγχανεν, *was chosen, so that if the first was disapproved or should die, the second might take his place*.

23. ὑποδοχὴν] taken metaphorically from the reception given any one; that is to say, *in order that he (Demosthenes) might in every respect support Philocrates, by his words and actions, by a favorable reception of his motions*.

1. Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος] The month of *May*. During this month 25 they celebrated the feast of Diana, called Elaphebolia ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλάφους βάλλειν, *because they sacrificed deer* to this goddess.

2. Ἀσκληπιῶ] Demosthenes, without a precedent, summoned the Senate of Five Hundred on a festival day, during which there

25 was always a vacation, as upon the days ἀπενκτοὶ or ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, *days of ill omen*. Here I have departed from the common text, and chosen among different readings, that which seemed the best in every point of view.

23. ἐγένοντο διτταὶ ἐκκλησίαι.] All the editions have δὲ αἶ instead of διτταί. One is so much like the other, and it is so probable that it was mutilated in the manuscript, that we may, without fear, adopt the latter, which renders the sense clear and flowing. But by leaving δὲ αἶ, the whole phrase is without a *consequent*, ἀναπόδοτος; it would have stood thus: *when then the feast of Bacchus was passed, when the assemblies were held, and there had been read in the first of them, &c.*, and the following sentence not answering to the preceding ἐπειδὴ, the remainder of the sentence must have been wanting. According to my text it reads thus, *when the feast of Bacchus was passed, two assemblies were held; and in the first of them they read a common decree of the allies, of which I will mention the principal points in a few words*. Reason, and what follows, requires it to be so.

28. ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω] Here the comparative is used idiomatically. *By thinking that the peace was rather necessary than best; the sense is, that the peace was necessary, but not good, ἀναγκαίαν μὲν, οὐ καλὴν δέ.*

26 27. ἀπορῶξαι, κ. τ. λ.] *to tear the alliance from the peace, that is to take away; or rather to make a peace without concluding an alliance*. The metaphor being too bold and harsh, gives Æschines some reason to blame the expression.

27 12. προκαθεζόμενος,] equivalent to προεδρεύων, *president*, which is its signification here, and not καθεζόμενος, simply *holding a seat in the assembly*, since in speaking of Demosthenes, just below, he says, τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπισηφίσας πρόεδρος.

28. αὐτομολοῦσιν] a military term applied to deserters; here used metaphorically instead of ἀντιμεταβαλλομένοις, *those who changed their party in the government*.

28 5. προεδρίαν] It means here that they gave them *the first seat, the place of honor*. The strictness of a republican would not be shocked at this politeness, but it seems to me

that there was the baseness of flattery in spreading *cushions*, 28 *προσκεφάλαια*, and hanging round the *purple tapestry*, *φοινικίδας*.

9. *ζεύγη ὄρεικά*,] synonymous with *ἡμιονικά*, of a mule; and not *ὄρικα*, of the limits. It comes from *ὄρεὺς* a mule, from *ὄρος*, since they are adapted to bear the fatigue of travelling on the mountains. *Iliad*, *A.* 50.

Οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπόχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.

17. *Χαριδήμου*] *Charidemus*, a native of *Oræa* in *Eubœa*, was naturalized at *Athens*, and chosen general.

23. *ἑβδόμην — τετελευτηκυίας*,] *the seventh day after the death of his daughter*. This use of the accusative, instead of the dative, is elegant, and practised by many authors, thus *Thucyd.* VIII. 23. *τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἤκοντος*.

24. *πενθήσαι*] this was to dress one's self in black, to shave, shut one's self up at home, and such like things, which were *τὰ νομιζόμενα*, *the last offices of respect to the dead*; duties that were established by *the law of custom*.

25. *λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα*] We may see from this passage, and a thousand others, that we receive the custom of expressing joy by a *white garment*, and grief by a black one, from the ancients; of these passages I will mention only one, that in *Eurip. Phœnis.* 328.

Ἄπεπλος φαρέων λευκῶν τέκνον.

26. *τὴν μόνην — καὶ πρώτην*] The word *πρώτη*, is here a pleonasm, since, being the only daughter, she was the first, as well as last. The order of the words being reversed, would supply this want of gradation. But is there not art in this seeming fault? this striking down his adversary, as with a battle-axe, before the audience, and then adding the second word, to finish the work? But all that *Æschines* says in accusation of *Demosthenes*, on account of his indifference to the death of his daughter, might be turned to his praise, since his country was before every thing, and we well know the stoicism of the ancients in this respect.

28. *οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω*,] *Eurip. Orest. v. 4. κοῦκ ὀνειδίζω τύχας*. The sense is, *I do not mention this misfortune to insult him*.

- 28 31. σώματα] The word here signifies *persons*.
 29 5. τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον] *he did not change his character, but his place*. There is in these words what is called *παρονομασία*, a *play upon words*, that is full of grace.

29. δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας,] This explains the meaning of what he has just said, διαφέρεσθαι τι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, as if they were disputing who should have the most of the money received from Philip.

- 30 15. ἴση καὶ ὁμοία] *neutral and impartial*. This use of these words arises from its being necessary, in order to being truly neutral, that the party should be *equal* in power with, and *similar* to, ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος, those by whom it wishes to be respected. Without this, there can be neither neutrality or impartiality.

19. περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος.] *quarrelling about syllables*. Æschines treats Demosthenes as a caviller, who was particular even about syllables; because he had said with respect to Halonesus, that *if Philip δίδωσιν, should give it, and not restore it, μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, they ought not to receive it*. But in concluding a treaty with the crafty Macedonian, these two words were of great importance, since if they received it as a gift, it would be acknowledging that it belonged to Philip; but if they refused to receive it unless it were in restitution, it would be showing openly that Philip was an usurper, and that they, alone, had a lawful right over the city.

- 31 11. ὑποσπόνδους] *on certain conditions; having dictated to them certain conditions*.

12. καὶ τὰς πόλεις, κ. τ. λ.] *and you gave up its cities (of Eubœa) and its liberties, as was proper and just, to those who had given them in trust to you*. The word αὐτῆς instead of αὐτῶς, and τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις instead of αὐτοῖς παρακαταθέμενοι, will be found preferable on examining this part of the text.

18. Πλουτάρχῳ] This was a second expedition of the Athenians into Eubœa; when Plutarch, ruler of Eretria, asked their assistance against Philip who was threatening Eubœa, and afterwards betrayed them by joining him.

20. Ταμύνας] A city of Eubœa, near which Phocion defeated the Chalcidians. Κοτύλαιον is a mountain, near this city. 31

22. ὑπερεβάλομεν,] The detail that follows in the text leads me to think that the Athenians were not attacked till after they had passed the mountain, and were probably shut up in some recess or valley whence there was no egress; so that I have preferred the aorist, to the imperfect, commonly found in other editions.

30. δεξιούμενος] *who gives his right hand amicably; who is affable; who receives one favorably.* This word δεξιούμενος shows that the modern custom of shaking hands is derived from the ancients.

14. Εὐβοϊκὸν, κ. τ. λ.] *verbally calling together the assembly of Eubœa at Chalcis, but in effect fortifying Eubœa against you.* 32

22. καὶ πλείους — τοῦ Εὐρίπου,] *having taken more turns than the Euripus.* This is a strait that separates Eubœa from the continent of Greece; its flux and reflux are very frequent every day, and although writers are not agreed as to the precise number of times that they take place daily, yet all allow that in no other sea are they so frequent. This gave rise to many proverbs among the ancients, as ἄνθρωπος εὐρίπος, *a fickle man*; εὐρίπος διάνοια, *a varying spirit*; τύχη εὐρίπος, *changing fortune*; εὐριπιζειν, *to be in perpetual agitation.* They say that Aristotle not being able to discover the cause of this phenomenon threw himself into the Euripus, in despair, crying out “Since Aristotle has not been able to understand the sea, the sea shall understand Aristotle.”

1. τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα,] Among the ancients there were 33 different kinds of races; but the principal were στάδιον, containing 125 geometrical paces; διανλος, having double that number; and δόλιχος, which was twelve stadia or more. The runners took their names from the different courses on which they exercised, σταδιοδρόμοι, διανλοδρόμοι, δολιχοδρόμοι. The name διανλος was given, as its etymology indicates, because when they had arrived at the end of the course, they had to return on their steps and pass over the ground again till they came to the barrier, thereby making two straight lines, in the form of a flute.

33 8. ἐγκαταληφθέντι,] from ἐγκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, *to be seized*, and not ἐγκαταλείφθέντι from ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι, *to be abandoned*; unless we refer it to the word δῆμος, that is, *abandoned by the people of Athens*; but the sense would then be rather forced.

12. συντάξεις.] *subsidiēs*. This name was given to the contributions of the allies or others over whom they had an influence, but who were not considered exactly as subjects, with regard to whom they employed the word φόρος, *tribute*.

19. καὶ Χαλκιδέας] I have restored the καὶ which not only gives greater force, but also expresses to the hearer, according to the intention of Æschines, how little Demosthenes had cared for the interest of the Athenians when he said, *having written for form's sake, and that the Chalcidians should assist the Athenians if any one attacked them*.

25. ὑστέρως] Most other editions have ὑστέρως ποιῆσθαι, but the repetition is entirely without grace, and must have been inserted by the copyist. It is too unpleasant to require the least hesitation in removing it. And I have also changed, upon my own authority, the word πρότερον to προτέρως.

27. γραφήν] is here put for a *letter*. It is used in this way by the modern Greeks; but seldom as meaning an *accusation*.

30. οἱ καιροὶ] *the opportunities have been sold, important as they were*. The article is as proper when joined to καιροῖ, as it would be wrong if it were annexed to the words that follow.

34 6. ὁρῶντων, φρονοῦντων, βλέπόντων] *whilst you were perceiving, thinking, seeing*. There is a gradation in these words; ὁρᾶν and βλέπειν are synonymous, although the first is used here metaphorically for seeing with the intellectual sight, or perceiving, and the second for seeing with our own eyes.

35 12. Ἀνθεστηριῶνος] *of the month of April*; during which they celebrated the feast of Bacchus called Ἀνθεστήρια, from ἄνθος, that is, *feast of flowers*, διὰ τὸ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνθεῖν τότε.

15. Καὶ γὰρ τι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος] *For this fellow does something peculiar and uncommon*. Other editions have Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος, but according to my correction the passage is

more energetic, and more natural; so that there probably was 35 a mistake of the copyist.

2. *συστρέψας*,] This word is used metaphorically from dif- 36 ferent animals, and particularly the serpent, that coils itself up to collect its force before attacking. As if he said; *Diverting your attention from his fraud, and having suspended you in hope, then collecting his strength for the last blow, or seizing the favorable moment for his great attack, he orders, &c.* Ὡςπερ τὰ θηρία συστρέψαντα ἐναντὶ μάχεται, τοιαύτη τις ἂν εἴη συσροφή καὶ λόγον, καθάπερ συσπειραμένου πρὸς δεινότητα. Demetrius Phalereus, § 8.

7. εἰς Ὀρεὸν, κ. τ. λ.] I have here on my own authority corrected the text which I considered defective; for I could not leave it, as it stands in other editions, εἰς Ὀρεὸν πρὸς τὰς Ὀρεῖτας πρόσβεις, οἵτινες δεήσονται καὶ αὐτοί· the reasons for doing so, and the obscurity, at first sight, of Ὀρεῖτας πρόσβεις, that seem to agree together, are too evident to need explanation.

9. πέρας ἀπάντων ἐν] I have preferred this instead of the common περι ἀπάντων ἐπὶ, for it is stronger. It has much the same force as, *to put the seal to his wickedness.*

28. δι' ὃ] more commonly διὸ, *therefore*; but δι' ὃ, *for which*, is preferable, since it is referred to *τάλαντον*, more naturally than to *λαβών*.

11. ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδσαν·] *till they have paid the prin-* 37 *pal.* The word *κεφάλαιον* is used in modern Greek in the same sense; ὅποιος ζητεῖ πολὺ διάφορον χάνει καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, *he who asks too high interest, loses principal and interest too.*

28. τὸ Κιρράϊον] *Cirrho* was a town of Phocis, at the foot of mount Parnassus, thirty stadia from Delphi. It seems that the city gave its name to a plain in the neighbourhood.

29. ἐξάγιστος] *polluted*; as if he should say *λίαν ἐναγῆς καὶ ἔμπλεος ἄγους*, which last word is equivalent to *μύσος, μίασμα.*

31. Ἀκραγαλλίδαι,] a people of Phocis, near *Cirrho*.

3. Ἀμφικιτύονας·] *The Amphictyons* were the deputies of the 38 people and cities of Greece, who represented the whole nation, and were similar to the *States General*. They had full power to concert, resolve upon, and order whatever seemed to them

38 to be for the public good. Amphictyon, third king of Athens, instituted them, in order to unite the Greeks more closely, and form of them one nation, whose union might excite terror and respect in the Barbarians. Afterwards, Acrisius, king of Argos, perfected the institution. The Amphictyons assembled twice a year; in autumn, at Thermopylæ, in the temple of Ceres, built in the middle of a large plain near the river Asopus; in the spring, at Delphi, in the famous temple of Apollo. The Amphictyonic nations were twelve in number, and each one had a right to send two deputies; the one called *ἱερομνημων*, *keeper of the sacred records*, was charged with every thing relating to religion, and was superior to the other, called *Πυλαγόρας*, *orator sent as deputy to Thermopylæ*, *παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Πυλαία ἀγορεύειν*. The former was chosen by lot; the latter by an extension of the hand.

12. Ἀθηνᾶ Προναία] At Delphi they honored Minerva under the name *Προναία*, *διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἰδρῦσθαι*, *because they had erected a temple for her opposite to that of Apollo*. Hesychius speaks of it thus, *Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς τέμενος ἐν Δελφοῖς*, as if he would say *Minerva, before the temple*. At Athens they worshipped the same goddess under the name *Πρόνοια*, *ὅτι προῦνόησεν ὅπως τέκοι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ*, *because having foreseen the time of Latona's confinement, she prepared every thing that was necessary*. But as they are speaking here of the Minerva of Delphi, and not of the one at Athens, I have without hesitation put *Προναία* instead of *Προνοία*.

15. Σόλωνος] According to Plutarch, Solon there applied himself to poetry, as an amusement for his leisure hours; but afterwards used it for inculcating the most important maxims of philosophy. The same author gives us several fragments on different subjects. If we may believe Diogenes Laërtius, he composed more than four thousand verses.

28. *προστρόπη*] *imprecation, or invocation of the vengeance of heaven, for the stain of a crime*. This word comes from *τρόπαιον*, since those who slew any of the enemy after the trophy was set up, were considered as *προστρόπαιοι*, synonymous with *ἐναγείς*, *stained with crime*.

20. οἱ Λοκροῖ] *The Locrians* were divided into Ὀζόλαι, 39
Ozola, from ὄζουσαι ὄλοι, and had *Amphissa* for their capital,
 Ἀμφισσαν οὕτω κληθεῖσαν διὰ τὸ ἐμπεριέχεσθαι τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς
 κειμένοις· Ἐπιζεύριοι, *Opuntians*, because they lived by the
 sea; and in Ἐπικνημιδίοι, *Epicnemidii*, who lived near mount
 Cnemis.

8. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τίχην,] The first of these words means, 40
the supreme intelligence; the second, *the goddess who presides
 over events, Fortune*. But they are sometimes both used in
 the last sense, by a mere pleonasm, as in Latin, *forte fortuna*.

11. Μειδίαν] This was the same *Midias* who struck Demos-
 thenes in the full theatre; and against whom the latter wrote
 an oration that is still extant.

12. Ἀναγυρόσιον] Ἀναγυροῦς was a borough of the Erecthean
 tribe, where it was pretended there grew a fetid plant, which
 gave rise to the proverb ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν, applied to those who
 touch any thing to their own injury.

13. Λέκκιον,] It is commonly written Λέσβιον, but I have
 preferred Λέκκιον, because Λέκκος was a borough of the Anti-
 ochian tribe.

24. καινὸν — ἐξαράσασθαι,] In speaking here of the new
 temple he does not mean that there were two at Delphi, but
 refers to the same one, which having been burnt was rebuilt
 by the Amphictyons. It is said that this temple remained for
 a long time unfinished, till the emperor Nero, passing that way,
 finished it. Hence we find πρὶν ἐξεργάσθαι and ἐξεργάσασθαι,
before the work was finished. But I have preferred the reading
 ἐξαράσασθαι, which means *to consecrate, ἐκτελέσαι τὰς ἀρχάς, του-*
τέστι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδρύσεσι τῶν ναῶν, αἱ εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι.
 They might accuse the Athenians for consecrating the golden
 bucklers, in the new temple, before the customary ceremonies
 had been performed; but I do not see how they could do so,
 because they had consecrated them before the work was fin-
 ished.

26. ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων,] The Persians and Medes hav-
 ing been united by the victories of Cyrus, sometimes the
 name Medes was given to the Persians. The first time they

40 came to attack Greece, the Thebans joined them and assisted them in their enterprise.

41 9. ὁ Κροβύλος ἐκεῖνος] The word ἐκεῖνος, *this*, is emphatic and shows that Crobylus was well known. Harpocration says that it was a surname of Hegesippus, the orator; which was probably the case; κροβύλος signifying in Greek *a tuft of hair bound up*. But we do not know on what subject, or on what occasion, he had proposed an alliance with the Phocians.

42 2. ἀφοσιῶ] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκαθαίρω, ἀφαγνίζω, Harpoc. *I keep our city pure from pollution as to the worship of the gods, or I rescue our country from the guilt of sacrilege.*

3. ἐνῆρκται μὲν τὰ κανῶ.] word for word, it means, *the baskets have begun*, but is metaphorically used for *the divine service has begun*, since there were never any sacrifices without baskets in which to put the offerings, knife, and other things necessary in the ceremony; and the procession always began with carrying the baskets. Many passages would explain the phrase, but it will suffice to mention Eurip. Electr. 1142.

Κανοῦν δ' ἐνῆρκται καὶ τεθηγμένη σφαγίς.

Some however think that it ought to be ἐνήσται or ἐπήσται, induced by the passage of Aristoph. Aves, 851.

Παῖ, παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἴρεσθε καὶ τὴν χέρονδα.

23. ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἠβῶσι,] *those who attained the age of puberty two years since*, that is, *those who are sixteen years old*.

26. Θυτείον] name of a place so called παρὰ τὸ θύειν, as if we should say, *the place of victims*.

43 9. ἐκκλησίαν — τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων] The Amphictyons had two sorts of assemblies. In the συνέδριον, *particular assembly*, only the deputies from Greece were present; in extraordinary cases they called together ἐκκλησία, *a general assembly*, where each one might take a part in the deliberations, but the right of voting was reserved to the deputies alone. The others who were present on the occasion were called τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, *the commonalty of the Amphictyons*.

12. ζηρωμένους τῷ θεῷ.] *Those who questioned the oracle*. For they said ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος χροῶ, in speaking of its responses, and of those who questioned it, χροῶνται.

16. πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης Πυλαίας] *before the approaching assembly*, 43
τῆς ὁρισμένης καὶ τεταγμένης ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, *at Thermopylae,*
at an appointed time, which was a σύγκλητος Πυλαία, having a
decree which they *carried from home*, οἴκοθεν ἐπενεγκόντες.

23. ὑφ' ἡμῶν] *this decree having been rendered by us Πυλα-*
γορῶν· he says *we*, as being one of those who had been nomi-
nated deputies to the Council of the Amphictyons.

6. διαφειμένων] *and the people having been dismissed*. This 44
is preferable to the common reading δὲ ἀφειμένων.

27. πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως] τῶν Θηβῶν, *Thebes*, entirely ruined
by Alexander.

31. τὸν Φαρσάλιον] This does not agree with what is found
in a decree cited by Demosthenes, p. 141. l. 3. from which
it seems that Cottyphus was an Arcadian. But Pharsalia was
a town of Thessaly, and there was none of that name in Ar-
cadia. It might be that Cottyphus was an native of Arca-
dia, who had settled in Pharsalia; and that Æschines spoke of
his adopted country.

17. Σκύθας] Philip having a personal quarrel with Atheas, 45
king of Scythia, marched against him, defeated his numerous
army, and took considerable booty.

22. φωνᾶς προηκόμενοι;] *having almost uttered human voices*.
It is formed from the verb *ἴναι*, and is preferable to the com-
mon *προσηκόμενοι*, since we say *ἀφίημι φωνήν*.

26. ἡ τῶν μυστιῶν τελευτή;] *the death of the initiated*. It
relates to the circumstance reported on this occasion, that the
initiated going into the sea to purify themselves, two were
destroyed by a whale.

2. ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερῶτων] These two words mean the 46
same thing; *sacrifices with bad auspices*, and are one of those
elegant pleonasms used to strengthen or weaken the sense;
ἰερὰ ἄθυστα, sacrifices that are not sacrifices, to express *τὰ μὴ*
καλὰ γενόμενα, a common mode of speaking among the Greeks,
like *βίος ἀβίωτος, χάρις ἄχαρις*, and many others.

19. ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ — αἰτῶν] It was the customary man-
ner among the Persians, when exacting submission of those
whom they wish to subject to themselves, *to ask for land and*
water.

46 31. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*] *The Lacedæmonians*, having assisted the Phocians in a war which they sustained against several nations of Greece, for having profaned the lands sacred to Apollo, were suspected in the course of the war of having had some share with the Phocians in first pillaging the temple.

47 3. *ὀμηγεύσοντες*] *To serve as hostages*. "Ὀμηροὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ συμβάσει διδόμενοι. Harpocr. The Lacedæmonians wishing to throw off the Macedonian yoke, when Alexander was carrying on war in Asia, revolted and engaged all Peloponnesus on their side. But their attempt did not succeed. They were conquered by Antipater, who allowed them to send an embassy to the king to learn their fate from his own mouth.

8. ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,] Æschines, by calling Athens the common asylum of Greece, bestowed on it the highest praise; but he only used the words of Apollo, who, being consulted by the Lacædemonians to know whether they should destroy Athens, answered, τὴν κοινὴν Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν μὴ κινεῖν, *they should not touch the common asylum of Greece*.

16. Ἡσίοδος] The poet *Hesiod* is commonly thought to have been contemporary with Homer. It is said that he was born at Cuma, a city of Æolia, but that he was brought up and educated at Ascra, in Bœotia, which afterwards passed for his country. All the poetry that we have from him is in hexameter verse. His works are, 1. Works and Days; 2. The Theogony; 3. The Shield of Hercules. From the first of them, the following lines were taken.

20. γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν,] *For I think it is on this account that, when children, we learn by heart the maxims of the poets*. It was an ancient custom in Greece to teach the children the maxims of the poets. By this kind of study the young exercised their memories, improved their minds, and formed their hearts, which was the principal end proposed; since they were inspired, early with a hatred of vice and love of virtue. There were many works formed entirely of short sentences; such were, the moral poem of Theognis, the instructions of Phocylides, the Golden Verses attributed commonly to Pythagoras, &c. And in general, the works of the

Greek poets abound in passages proper for instructing men in 47 all ranks and conditions of life. We may say that reading the poets leads to the love of virtue, since seeing the words and actions of great and good men, we wish to resemble them; for poetry has peculiar charms to attract the mind, and to fix good impressions in the memory and upon the heart.

3. *Φρυνώνδας*, — *Εὐρύβατος*,] The first was a famous cheat 48 and villain, who having executed many fraudulent plans, left his name to be given to others of the same class. *Φρυνώνδας τῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ διαβεβοημένων ὃς ξένος ὢν κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ διέτριβεν Ἀθήρησιν.* The second was from Ephesus, and was sent by Cræsus with a large sum of money, nominally, to be carried to Delphi; but, in fact, that he might recruit as many soldiers as possible in the Peloponnesus, for a war that the king of Lydia was carrying on against Persia. Eurybatus instead of effecting his mission, betrayed the cause, and revealed the whole to Cyrus. This treachery being remarkable among the Greeks, when they wished to reproach any one for his roguery they called him an Eurybatus. *Εὐρύβατος πονηρός ἀπὸ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Κροίσου ἐπὶ ξηνολογίαν μετὰ χρημάτων — εἶτὰ μεταβαλλομένου πρὸς Κῦρον.* Suidas.

5. *μάγος καὶ γόης*] These words are in some degree synonymous; *μάγος*, an honorable appellation, as applied to Persian priests, is here used entirely in the signification in which it is employed by the modern Greeks, viz. *one who by sorcery, or rather by jugglers' tricks, seeks to deceive the world*; *γόης* means an *impostor who invokes evil spirits, and the dead, that he may more easily ensnare the superstitious and the ignorant.*

14. *Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κόλλυτεὺς*,] *Κόλλυτος* δῆμὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτῶδος φυλῆς, which sufficiently distinguishes him from Thrasymbulus, the famous restorer of Athenian liberty, who was *Στειριεύς*.

24. *προτρέψασθαι, κ. τ. λ.*] *to engage them to enter into alliance with us.* The ancient enmity between the Thebans and Athenians went so far that Pindar having said *λιπαρὰ καὶ ἀοιδίμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλεινὰ Ἀθῆναι*, *splendid and celebrated Athens, the bulwark of Greece*, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, which the Athenians doubly discharged; and they also erected a statue of bronze to him.

49 1. Ἐλάττειαν] This was a city of Phocis near Thebes. It was an important post both for the Thebans and even the Athenians; as was shown by the consternation its capture caused among the latter.

13. τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε,] *He hated the Thebans still more, as the event showed,* says Æschines; since Philip, after the battle of Chæronea, where the Athenians and Thebans were conquered together, treated the latter much the more severely; putting a garrison in their city, whilst he concluded a peace with the Athenians, and sent back their prisoners without ransom.

20. ἔκδοτον — Βοιωτίαν — Θηβαίοις,] *He gave up Bœotia to the Thebans.* It must be remembered that Thebes was the capital, and not the mistress of Bœotia. The sovereign council assembled at Thebes, when the principal towns, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Plataea, and several others, sent their deputies called *Bœotarchs*, chiefs or rulers of Bœotia.

23. Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις,] This is a circumlocution, meaning *the Thebans*. It is used by the orator to avoid offending the ear of his hearers, who had almost always been mortal enemies of the Thebans, and friends of the other Bœotians. It is for this reason that Æschines accuses Demosthenes of *deceiving the people by artful expressions*, ὀνόμασι κλέπτων τὰ πράγματα, the word κλέπτων is here synonymous with κρύπτων.

50 4. Στρατοκλέα,] No general of the name of *Stratocles* is mentioned in history as commanding the troops of the Athenians after their alliance with the Thebans. Chares and Lysicles are mentioned as commanders of the Athenian army at the battle of Chæronea; it may, however, have been under the orders of Stratocles in several lesser engagements before that battle.

17. Καδμείαν,] The name of the citadel of Thebes.

24. διαδικασία] *Dispute concerning priority.* Διαδικασία· οὐχ ἁπλῶς πᾶσα δίκη διαδικασία καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς περὶ τινος ἀμφισβήτησις ἐστίν, ὅτω προσήκει μᾶλλον. Bekkeri Anecdd. p. 236. What the Germans call *prioritätsstreit*.

29. καὶ τοὺς μυρίους, κ. τ. λ.] *Having placed the ten thousand 50 mercenary soldiers in the pay of the inhabitants of Amphissa.* I know of no historian who mentions the fact here related by Æschines.

23. λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν] An allusion to the cowardice of Demos- 51 thenes at the battle of Chæronea, where he threw away his shield and shamefully fled from his post.

24. ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος] Most of the nations of Greece, and in particular the Thebans, declared war against the Phocians, who had profaned, by cultivating them, the lands consecrated to Apollo. This war was very long, and was called *the Phocian* or *sacred war*.

4. Φειδίας] *Phidias*, a famous ancient sculptor, who, togeth- 52 er with the greatest skill in his art, possessed a highly cultivated mind. One of his principal works was his statue of Minerva. Alcamenes and he had been engaged to make a statue of this goddess, to be placed upon a very high pillar. When the two statues were finished, they were brought forward and shown in public. The Minerva of Alcamenes, when the spectators stood near it, appeared an admirable piece of workmanship and was preferred by all. That of Phidias was thought hideous, and both sculptor and statue were greatly ridiculed. "Place them," said he, "on the pillar where they are to stand." They were placed there by turns, and the Minerva of Alcamenes no longer appeared worthy of applause, while that of Phidias had such an air of grandeur and of majesty that the spectators gazed at it with unwearied admiration.

8. Κλεοφῶντος] This is probably the same *Cleophon* mentioned in the oration of Æschines on the *False Embassy*, in the pleadings of Lysias *against Agoratus*, and *against Nicomachus*, and in some comedies of Aristophanes, particularly that of the *Frogs*; Ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀργινύσαις γαμμαχίαν, Λακεδαιμονίων βουλομένων ἐκ Δακελείας ἀπιέναι, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἐκάτεροι, καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, Κλεοφῶν ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον μὴ προσδέξασθαι, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυκώς, οὐ φάσκων ἐπιτρέφειν, ἐὰν μὴ πάσας ἀφῶσι

52 τὰς πόλεις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κλεοφῶν ὡς ξένος κωμωδεῖται καὶ βάρβαρος. Scholiast on v. 1574. See also v. 1541. and v. 690.

27. ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν.] It was the custom of the Athenians to bring to the city the bones of the citizens who died fighting for their country, to bury them at the public expense, and to choose an orator to pronounce an eulogy over them. Demosthenes was chosen for those who fell at Chæronea, and he shows in his speech how much he was gratified by the choice. The eulogy was commonly pronounced on the spot where the bones of the soldiers had been interred.

53 12. Ἑλλην καὶ] The καὶ is here used in explanation of Ἑλλην, and this signification appears to me more consistent with the ideas prevalent at that time, than that which we should derive from the common reading, Ἑλλην ἢ καί.

18. τοὺς ὄρφανούς,] Plato in the Menexenes, which contains a funeral oration, speaks of the custom here mentioned by Æschines, and nearly in the same terms.

28. τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ, ἢ τί φθέγγεται;] *What will he proclaim, or what will he say?* This appears to me preferable to ἂν ἐρεῖ, and the more so because ἂν ought not to be construed with the future indicative. If it be erased, the two words will have nearly the same signification, and I do not believe that this is one of the pleonasms frequently used for the sake of elegance. If the orator had used it in that sense, he would perhaps have put καὶ instead of ἢ. The use of the latter particle sufficiently shows that these two words must have a different signification, and this is in favor of the reading I have adopted, although this future is rarely used, the aorist ἀνεῖπε being much more common.

30. σιωπηθήσεται,] The first future middle σιωπήσεται is more common, but I have not hesitated to adopt σιωπηθήσεται as having a greater analogy with the modern future, θέ να σιωπηθῇ· for the modern Greek is a true guide to the critic, since it contains valuable remains of the ancient idiom, which will throw light upon the sense of authors that often appear obscure on account of the incorrect interpretation

of words, the true signification of which is yet retained in 53 the modern language; it is also a valuable assistance in choosing from various readings, preventing us from altering a text in which the passage that appears defective is merely an idiom, still found in the living tongue, and thus proved to be rightly used.

6. ἴσταιτε] Several critics write ἴσταιτε, but this is an error; 54 the accent should be on the antepenult.

13. τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσοῖον] *The royal gold*, that is, the gold of Darius, king of Persia, who, seeing that Philip after invading Greece intended to attack his kingdom, used all his power in support of Demosthenes, the fiercest enemy of the king of Macedonia. The orator, who loved his country, defended it against the ambition of Philip, who vainly sought to bribe him; but as he was no enemy to wealth, he was not sorry to be able at the same time to consult the interests of Athens by favoring the views of Darius, when consistent with the welfare of his country, and to augment his own fortune from the immense riches of this prince. He thus gratified two passions, one of which was far from being so noble as the other.

15. νομίσατε ὄραϊν, κ. τ. λ.] There can be nothing more touching and more pathetic than this description of Thebes in flames, and we cannot cast our eyes upon this admirable picture, without being deeply affected.

31. ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀντοσχεδιάζῃ] *That no one may carelessly expose the persons of the Greeks.* The root of this word is *σχεδιά*, a vessel hastily constructed, *ναῦς ἀκατασκευάστος, ἀπὸ ξύλων μόνον ἀπερίττως συντεθειμένη*, from *σχεδὸν*, *nearly*, as being nearly, but yet not completely finished.

15. *Ναυσικλέϊ*] *Nausicles*, an Athenian general, distinguished 55 on several occasions by his liberality towards the state. He is mentioned in the oration of Demosthenes. (P. 127, l. 27.)

18. *πάλιν αὖ*] This is an Attic *parallelism* sometimes used, and preferable to the common reading *πάλιν αὐτός*. (See p. 123, l. 5.)

19. *Πανσωνίου*,] *Pausanias* was a young nobleman of the court of Philip, who had not been able to obtain justice from that prince, and who assassinated him to revenge himself.

55 19. ἐπὶ αἰτία δ' εὐαγγελίων εἰς θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν,] *On account of good news, he induced the senate to make sacrifices.* I have followed my own judgment in thus correcting the text, which is commonly read thus, εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησε, which gives the same sense as : αἰτιασθαι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ εὐαγγέλιου θύσαι. Some editions have εὐαγγελίων καὶ θυσίας, that is, καὶ θύσαι ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἡγγελμένοις. Reiske adds after κατέστησε the word ποιῆσαι, and I presume that he gives to the word αἰτία, the same signification as I do. In that case his whole sentence gives the same sense as mine, which being at the same time more concise and more closely according to the text, appears preferable. We still say at the present day, ἐπὶ τίνι αἰτία ἦλθε, *what is the motive which made him come, or on what account did he come*; but even giving to the word αἰτία, the signification *accusation*, my correction has some advantage.

21. *Μαργίτην*] This word is composed of the negative particle μὴ and ἔργον, *work*, thus meaning *good for nothing*. This name was given to silly persons on account of the satirical poem called *Μαργίτης*· ὅς πολλὰ μὲν ἤπιζατο ἔργα, καθὼς δ' ἤπιζατο πάντα, attributed to Homer and no longer extant. It describes the character of its hero in these terms :

Τὸν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ' σκαπανῆα θέσαν θεοὶ, οὐτ' ἄροτῆρα,
Οὐτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν.

Suidas says that Margites was a man celebrated for his idiocy. He affirms that this prince of fools could not count beyond five; that after his marriage he was afraid to live with his wife, lest she should tell it to their common friends; that when he was grown up, he put this curious question to his mother, whether she and he were not children of the same father.

22. ὡς οὐ κινηθήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας,] This prediction of Demosthenes was soon proved false by the extravagant ambition of Alexander, of whom Plutarch relates, that when he heard the philosopher Anaxarchus say that there was an infinity of worlds, he shed tears from the despair which he felt of ever being able to conquer them all, since, as yet, he had been unable to conquer a single one.

23. Πέλλη] Edessa was originally the residence of the kings 55 of Macedonia, and afterwards *Pella*, still more famous for the birth of Philip and of Alexander. Livy describes at length the advantageous situation of this town, and mentions that the consul Paulus Emilius, after having attentively examined it, declared that it was no wonder the kings of Macedonia had chosen for their capital so strong a place, the only entrance to which was by a bridge, which could be easily guarded by a handful of men.

24. σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα.] Some critics understand by this passage that Alexander, fearful for his life, examined the entrails of the victims seeking for good omens for his personal safety. This interpretation appears to me too far fetched to be correct, and I am inclined to think the sense is, *he was satisfied with walking through his capital, and preserving his life*, since, naturally, if he lost his entrails he lost his life. It is an idiomatic phrase, and we still say in modern Greek, *μη χάσης τ'άντερά σου*, in the sense of *take care you do not lose your life*; as in Italian, *salvar la pancia pei fichi*, and in German, *zu seinen kutteln sorge tragen*.

1. Κιθαρωῶνος] *Citharon*, a celebrated mountain in Bœotia, 56 consecrated to Bacchus. It is said to be derived from the Syriac or Phœnician *kathar*, signifying a *rock*.

7. πάραλοι] Instead of the common reading *παράλοι*. Πάραλος was one of the galleys despatched on public business, and so called from some hero of this name. The crew were called *πάραλοι*, they received four oboli a day for their service, and remained at home the greater part of the year. They had also some other privileges granted by the city. They were called not only *πάραλοι* but also *παραλίται*. Reiske conjectures *Φαρσάλιοι* to be the proper word.

9. Ἀριστίων Πλαταιῖκος,] *Aristion, a Platæan*. Οὗτος Σάμιος μὲν ἔστιν ἢ Πλαταιεὺς, ὡς Δίνλλός φησιν, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου ἐταῖρος Δημοσθένους. Ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑφραισίωνα ἕνεκα διαλλαγῶν, ὡς φησι Μαρσύας ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. Harpocr.

56 17. ὑποτρέχει] This word is used figuratively, and signifies *to insinuate, to steal imperceptibly into favor*. It is like the German *sich bey einem einschleichen*.

26. ἀκατασκευών] Used in three manuscripts of Bekker for the common ἀπαρασκευών, which was probably introduced by the negligence of transcribers; for the sense of ἀκατασκευών is better and more consistent, *while his own affairs were not yet settled, were still in confusion*; it is here almost synonymous with τεταραγμένων.

57 2. σαντοῦ] Better and more forcible than the common reading εαντῷ.

9. ὡς ἐξηρητημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιήεις,] *The letters which, hanging from between your fingers, you showed around to one person after another*; a description of the manner of Demosthenes, by which the orator meant to say, *the letters which you showed with great ostentation and ceremony*.

11. χρυσόκερων, κ. τ. λ.] *He called me the bull with gilded horns*; that is, a man on the point of perishing, a man just going to be slain. This is an allusion to the custom of gilding the horns of oxen, when about to be sacrificed. The same thing was done to any large victim. The smaller victims, as the goat and the ram, were merely crowned with leaves of the plant consecrated to each divinity, as the oak to Jupiter, the laurel to Apollo, the olive to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus, the poplar to Hercules, the ivy to Bacchus. Homer in the *Odyssey*, book III, speaks of a bull with gilded horns.

12. κατεστεφθαι] *I have been crowned like a victim*. Thus when Philip consulted the Pythian priestess with regard to his expedition against the Persians, she answered: Ἔσπεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. The event soon showed that the oracle related to Philip, and not to the Persians.

14. εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλε καλλίω.] *You waited for a better opportunity*, ironically, and as a reproach. Some critics read it interrogatively: εἰς τίνα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλον καλλίω; *for what better opportunity do you wait?*

17. Κόρραγον] The different interpreters and commentators cannot agree whether the word *Corragus* is the name of a man

who commanded the army which was cut to pieces, or the name 57
of a town; and we have no history sufficiently minute to enable
us to decide with regard to these details, and to fix the sig-
nification of the word. The *περὶ*, however, is favorable to
the latter opinion, in coincidence with Ortelius, who in his
Dictionary counts Corragus among the towns or fortresses of
Macedonia, quoting in his support not only Æschines, but also
Livy.

21. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, κ. τ. λ.] *Alexander*, after the defeat of
Darius, had penetrated into the northern part of Asia, towards
the Arctic pole. The orator, either for exaggeration, or because
the Greeks in truth knew nothing beyond this, says that he
had passed the arctic pole, and almost overpassed the bound-
aries of the universe.

1. Ἀμπλουρῶσι, κ. τ. λ.] *Some manage the state like a vine- 58*
yard; some have cut the shoots of the people; the nerves of busi-
ness are severed; we are sewed up in narrow places as in mats;
some thread us like needles. These metaphors are very strange,
and appear very inelegant, and the more so because they do
not at all resemble the style of Demosthenes; but it is probable
that his artful antagonist brings together into a single pas-
sage what was said at very different times and in very different
places. Let us hear, however, upon this passage, the opinion
of a celebrated orator. Cicero, after having spoken of De-
mosthenes as an orator full of circumspection, and better ac-
quainted than any one else with the exact import and propriety
of words, adds: “Æschines, however, attacks him for certain
harsh, disgusting, and insupportable expressions; he does more;
for addressing him by the insulting name of beast, he asks
him if these are expressions or monsters. So that Demosthe-
nes himself, in the opinion of Æschines, offends the delicacy
of an Attic ear. But it is very easy,” continues Cicero, “to
criticise a word spoken in a moment of warmth, and to make
it a subject of ridicule when the feelings of the hearers have
cooled. Demosthenes, too, merely defends himself in a pleas-
ant way, and asserts that the safety of the Greeks does not de-
pend upon a word or a gesture.” The last expression is com-

58 monly written *τινὲς πρώτων*, but the adverb makes no sense here, and I have therefore preferred to put *ἡμῶς*. Some read *τοὺς πρώτους*, that is, the first magistrates; there are even some who read *ἡμῖν τὸν πρωκτὸν*, or *πρωκτὸν τὸν Ἀθηναίων*. But this reading gives us an image so ridiculous, and so indelicate, that it is not probable that we ought to lay it to the charge of Demosthenes.

5. *κίναδος* ;] When neuter, it signifies an animal whose skin was used in making helmets. It has been thought by some, however, to be a generic term, applied to all kinds of animals, and especially the fox. *Σικελιωταὶ δὲ τὸ κίναδος ἀλώπεκα ἐκάλεν*. *Κίναιδος*, the masculine, signifies a *debauchee*.

59 8. *ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης*] *The irregularity of his expenses*, that is, *his profusion in licentious and dissolute pleasures*.

23. *ἐν Κεραμείων*,] *Κεραμεῖς* was a borough of the Acamantian tribe, and had this name *ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης, καὶ τοῦ θύειν Κεράμω τινὲ ἥρωϊ*.

24. *Νύμφαιον*] A village or town of Pontus, which paid every year one talent as a tribute to the Athenians. There was another town of this name in Tauric Chersonesus, between Panticapæum and Theodosia.

29. *Κήπους*,] This was a town near the Bosphorus, called *Κῆποι*, the *Gardens*. It is very possible that it stood at the same place near Constantinople, which is now called *Bactzekioi*, which likewise signifies *gardens*, in the Turkish language.

60 2. *συνόκισε τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν ὁτιοδήποτε*,] *He married one of them to I shall not say whom*. The name which Æschines here suppresses through policy, Demosthenes himself reveals to us in the beginning of his second speech *against Aphobus*. *Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ, Δημοχάρης ἔχων ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς, θυγατέρα δὲ Γύλωνος*. Our orator here acknowledges, then, that he was, by his mother, grandson of Gylon, and that Demochares had married his maternal aunt. This passage must have escaped Plutarch, who seems to doubt what Æschines here asserts, and speaks thus in his *Life of Demosthenes*: *Δημοσθένους, ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος· ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιροποιὸς, ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα, καὶ*

δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας. Ἄ δ' Ἀισχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ 60
εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρὸς ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος ἐπ' αἰτία προδοσίας
φυγόντος ἐξ ἄστεος γεγόνει, καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικὸς, οὐκ ἔχομεν
εἰπεῖν, εἴτ' ἀληθῶς εἶρηκεν, εἴτε βλασφημιῶν καταψευδόμενος. Plu-
tarch has doubts with regard to this genealogy of Demosthenes,
the truth of which, however, the latter confesses himself, as we
have just seen. Æschines, then, said nothing but the truth on
that score.

4. παριδὼν τοὺς — νόμους] *In spite of the laws*, according
to which he who was convicted of having married a foreigner,
and not an ἀστήν, was punished for it, as may be seen in the
oration of Demosthenes *against Neera*.

5. ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης οὔτος] *This cunning and cal-
umniating Demosthenes*; commonly without the word οὔτος
which, however, is here emphatic, and gives strength. As to
the word συκοφάντης it is composed of σῦκον, *fig*, and φαίνω,
I declare; because the Athenians having forbidden by law the
exportation of figs out of Attica, thus gave occasion to the
lower people to accuse and attack each other in a thousand
ways. As these accusations were often ungrounded, and strong-
ly resembled calumny, the word sycophant came to be used for
calumniator.

12. λογογράφος] This was the name given to one who wrote,
for a compensation, speeches relating to trials, and differs from
the word λογοποιός which signifies one who writes a few speech-
es and fables.

17. ἐπιέκλυε] *The gold of Persia overflowed his expenses*,
used figuratively for *the gold of Persia was furnished abund-
antly for his expenses*.

2. λοιπὸν ὑπομνήσαι, κ. τ. λ.] *I have only to remind you of the* 61
laws against cowards. Τούτους ἔδει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τού-
των, ἀτίμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅποσοι λίποιεν τὴν τάξιν, ἢ ἀστρατείας ἢ
δειλίας ἔφλοιν, ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβάλοιεν. Andocid. περὶ τῶν
Μυσηρίων. Lysias also mentions the same thing against Alci-
biades *Λειποταξίας*. The Spartans also, notwithstanding their
military government, did not punish such persons with death;
but they were degraded, they were declared infamous, it was

61 unlawful to transact any business with them, in a word, they lived as if they were dead in a civil point of view. On this point we cannot avoid condemning Demosthenes, whose silence with regard to it is a proof of conviction; for if he could have denied the fact, he would have done it, and with no little stir.

12. ἔξω τῶν περιόρῳαντήριων, κ. τ. λ.] Literally, *excluded them from the lustral vessels in the forum*, or better, *excluded them from the purifying ablution used by those who assembled in the forum*, or still more freely, *excluded them from all participation in the assemblies*. The word περιόρῳαντήριον is composed of περιῳ, *around*, and ῳαίνω, *I water*, and signifies the vase in which was kept the purifying water. These were commonly placed in the temples, in the avenues to the forum, and at the places where roads met. Special care was taken also to place them at the doors of private houses, when any one died in the family, and the water was sprinkled over those who were present at the funeral. A branch of the olive tree was used for this purpose, and the purifying water was consecrated by the plunging in of a lighted brand, taken from the altar, while the victim was burning. Euripides, Ἡρακλ. Μαννόμε. 931.

Μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χεῖρὶ δεξιῳ φέρειν,
Εἰς χέρονιβ' ὡς βῳάπειεν Ἀλκμήνης τόκος.

In other respects, this water was used for purifying ceremonies of two kinds. The first consisted merely in washing the hands, and was called χέρονιψ, from χεῖρ, *hand*, and νίπτω, *I wash*. The other extended to the whole body, and was called περιόρῳανσις. This practice remains in Greece at the present time almost without change from the ancient forms, except in the manner of consecrating the water.

18. ἐσθὸν τοῦ Διονύσου] *The temple of Bacchus*. Tragedies were performed in the temple, and the rewards of crowns were proclaimed there. That decreed to Demosthenes was to be proclaimed there according to custom.

62 8. σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείω] *The privilege of being supported in the Prytaneum*. This privilege was granted to those who had shown great zeal in the cause of the republic; and it

was one of the most honorable rewards which a citizen could obtain. 62

9. τὰ τοιαῦτα] It is my own judgment that I have followed, in correcting thus, instead of leaving καλὰ.

10. καταπέπλνται τὸ προᾶγμα,] *All this, from being indiscriminately granted, has fallen into discredit.* This expression is borrowed from fruits or vegetables, which by being continually watered, at last lose their savour and retain but a watery taste; or from clothes, which are injured by being injudiciously washed.

18. Παναθήναια] *The Panathenæa* were festivals celebrated at Athens in honor of Minerva, with a great deal of pomp, like the Bacchanalian festivals and those of Eleusis in honor of Bacchus and Ceres. These were the three greatest festivals of the Athenians.

19. παγκράτιον] Critics are not all of the same opinion with regard to the game called *Pancretium*. Some think it is thus called because the antagonists contended with their whole strength, παντὶ κράτει. Plutarch appears to decide the question by saying that it was a mixed sort of contest, consisting both of *boxing and wrestling*: ὅτι γὰρ μέμικται τὸ παγκράτιον ἐκ τε πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης, δῆλον. This assertion, as well as the passage of Æschines, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, or *some other of our severest contests*, are against those who think that *Pancretium* was the same as *Pentathlon*, including the five modes of contending known by the ancients; ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

27. ἀγωνοθέτας] Taken figuratively for *the judges*. The *agonothetæ* presided at the solemn games of Greece, or at the private games of each city. They were obliged to swear that they would religiously observe all the laws prescribed in every kind of contest, and that they would do nothing either directly or indirectly against the order and the police established at these games. The *agonothetæ* at Athens, as a part of their duty, had to superintend the proclamation of the crowns granted as rewards to the citizens, as we see in the decrees quoted by Demosthenes.

63 7. Φυλῆς] *Phyle*, a fort in Attica, about a hundred stadia distant from Athens. During the domination of the thirty tyrants, a large number of citizens, enemies to a tyrannical government and friends to democracy, left Athens, and went first to Phyle and afterwards to the Piræus, under the command of Thrasybulus and Archinus, whence they finally re-entered the city in triumph.

8. Ἀριστείδης] As it was frequently necessary to fit out fleets and to raise troops, Aristides was chosen to determine what sum should be assessed upon each Grecian city. It is a remarkable proof of the disinterestedness of this great man, that after having filled an office of such importance, he left at his death hardly enough to defray the expense of his funeral. The people gratefully took charge of the education and establishment of his daughters. He died about four years after the exile of Themistocles.

20. δωρεάς] This correction appears to me preferable to the common reading, δωρεάς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον, ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.

23. πόρον] Better than χρόνον. Reiske corrects the text thus: οἱ πολλοὺς πολὺν ὑπομείναντες χρόνον καὶ μ. κ. and Taylor οἱ πολλοὺς ὑπομ. καὶ μ. κ.

24. Στρυμόνι] It was under the command of Cimon, one of their great generals, that the Athenians fought and defeated the Persians near Strymon in Thrace. The Persians had seized several towns in this country, whence they greatly molested the Greeks. Cimon followed up the advantages of his victory, and drove them thence. Æschines mentions the Medes instead of the Persians, but we have already shown in a former note, how one of these names was often taken for the other.

27. ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν,] *In the gallery of the Herma.* A *Hermes* was a statue of Mercury made of a square stone, upon which an inscription was written.

28. Ἑρμῶν, ἐφῆκε δὲ] I have thought proper to place a comma after Ἑρμῶν, and to insert δὲ, as giving much greater strength and energy to the passage; *the people have granted them great honors, and yet have not permitted them to inscribe, &c.* Other editions commonly have ἐφ' ἧτε μὴ, agreeing with the word στοᾷ and others ἐφ' ᾧτε.

3. ἐπ' Ἡϊών,] Ἡϊών was a town of Thrace, afterwards called 64
Ἀμφίπολις.

4. Λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα] *A fierce and raging famine.* The word αἰθων is sometimes employed by Homer as an epithet for a lion, to express its ferocity and violence; and it is here borrowed from the violent and furious temper of a famished person.

12. Μενεσθεύς] Homer speaks thus of Menestheus in the *Iliad*, B. 553 :

Τῷ δ' οὐπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνῆρ,
Κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἄσπιδιώτας.

13. ἀμπεδιον,] For ἀνά πεδιον. It is also written εἰς πεδιον.

15. Κοσμήτωρα] Some write Κοσμητήρα.

20. στοᾶν τὴν ποικίλην.] The *Pæcile*; a portico thus called from the different paintings it contained, representing the battle of Marathon.

30. τῷ Μητροφῷ] The temple of Cybele, the mother of the Gods, built near the place where the Senate of the Five Hundred met. The statue was the work of Phidias.

2. Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης,] Κοίλη is one of the boroughs of Atti- 65
ca. Its tribe is not exactly known, but it is supposed to be the Hippothoonian.

7. θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ] *The crown of olive leaves* was thus called.

12. προςέβαλλον] The imperfect is better than the aorist, since *the Lacedæmonians and the thirty tyrants attacked Phyle several times*, and not once only.

13. οὐχ ὅσοι, κ. τ. λ.] *And not those who fled from their post at Charonea, at the approach of the enemy.* Æschines omits no opportunity of reproaching Demosthenes for his cowardice at Charonea.

27. Φιλάμμωνα] *Philammon* was an Athenian *athletes*, contemporary with our orators, who was always victorious over his antagonists.

28. Γλαῦκον] *Glaucus*, a celebrated *athletes* from Caristus in Eubæa, who, according to common report, was descended from the sea god, Glaucus. The truth is, however, that this descendant of a god was the son of a mere laborer, named

65 Demylus. His ploughshare having one day become loose, Glaucus who was still young, mended it, using no hammer but his fist. Demylus seeing how well his son could strike, thought best to produce him at the Olympic games. At first Glaucus, little accustomed to such exercises, received several blows which greatly injured him; but just when it was expected that he would yield and leave the field, his father cried out to him; *What has become of that hand which hammered our plough so well?* The young man, animated by these words, struck his antagonist so severe a blow, that it decided at once the contest. He conquered on several other occasions at the solemn games of Greece; twice in the Pythian games, and eight times in the Nemæan and Isthmian. His son caused a statue to be erected to him, made by Glaucias of Ægina. Glaucus was represented in the attitude of an athlete, because it was as such that he had distinguished himself, and had gained the victory over all his contemporaries. After his death, the Carystians buried him in an island which is still called the island of Glaucus.

66 4. Παταικίωνος] *Patæcion* was probably an Athenian minister of no great merit. According to Harpocration and Suidas, he passed for a robber and a thief. The latter adds that he lived upon calumny, and was in the habit of leading rich young men into vicious indulgences.

12. παλαιχθων] *Child of the earth*. The Athenians, like several other nations of antiquity, thought they had first arisen from the earth, probably like mushrooms, or like those insects which appear after rain. It is undoubtedly on account of this idea with regard to their origin, that they give themselves in their writings the names of παλαιχθονες, αντόχθονες, γηγενείς, all having the same signification.

17. Ἐναυλον] A metaphorical expression, borrowed from the effect of the flute. *The sound still vibrated on the ear; that is to say, it was not yet effaced from the memory, and still remained there; freely translated, it was yet the general opinion.*

20. Καὶ γὰρ τι] Preferable to καὶ γὰρ τοι.

24. εἴ τις εἰςίοι γραφήν] Better than εἴ τις εἰςήει γραφή.

7. ὡςπερ ἐπωδῆν] A metaphor taken from the epodes in lyric 67 poems, which answers to this; *as if they hear a song*.

20. Ἀριστοφῶν] *Aristophon*, an Athenian general mentioned in the speech of Demosthenes (p. 111. l. 27.), and who appears to have boasted that he had been oftener accused than any other man, without ever having been convicted.

22. ὁ Κέφαλος] *Cephalus*, an Athenian minister who was never accused, and who must therefore have been entirely irreproachable. For in the midst of a republic like that of Athens, where each citizen had the right of accusing any one, and whenever he pleased, and where envy and malignity could find weak places in the most exemplary lives, it was a very difficult thing never to have to sustain a trial.

28. διαπολιτευόμενοι,] Wolfius conjectures ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι. But there is a difference between the two words. The first is employed to signify those who hold different political opinions in the same country; the second, those who are of different countries.

1. γράψαντά γε στεφανοῦν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους] The sense of 68 this is: *Thrasylulus, who proposed to crown in an illegal manner one of those who had returned with him from Phyle*. The text is commonly thus: γράψαντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, στεφανῶν ἓνα, *having proposed something illegal, which was to crown, &c.* But this could not be illegal, since we see a little above that this same Archinus who accuses Thrasylulus, had proposed and carried a decree, according to which all those who had returned from Phyle were to be crowned with a crown of olive leaves. Reiske corrects this passage by writing *τινα* instead of *τι*. others place the word *σεφανῶν* between brackets, as if there was some suspicion of its having been inserted by transcribers, and then the sense is; *that Thrasylulus was accused of violating the laws, because one of those who had returned with him proposed an illegal decree*. This does not appear to me at all probable, for it is neither consistent with good sense, nor with what is written below. The correction of Reiske also does not appear very elegant; nor do I like the *τινα*, and the ἓνα κ. τ. λ. explanatory of it. The common text being also inconsistent

68 with history, I could not avoid making a correction of my own, which, I dare flatter myself, is at least as good as that of my predecessors.

5. ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν,] *As Thrasybulus had led them back from Phyle to their country.* All the glory of so memorable an event belongs to him. For when the thirty tyrants, established by the Lacedæmonians, held Athens in slavery, abusing their sovereign power by pillaging, exiling, and putting to death many citizens who had escaped the fury of war, Thrasybulus was not only the first, but the only one to declare war against them. He retreated to Phyle, followed only by about thirty of his friends. This was the beginning of the deliverance of Athens; these were the restorers of public liberty. The contempt of the thirty tyrants for Thrasybulus with so small a band, caused his triumph and their ruin. While they slumbered in a dangerous security, he had time to increase his strength. He then entered the Piræus and fortified Munychia. The thirty tyrants twice attacked this post, and were twice repulsed with disgrace. Thrasybulus used his victory with as much prudence as magnanimity, for he forbade his soldiers to attack them in their retreat, holding to the principle that the citizens should spare the blood of their fellow citizens. In a second fight, Critias, the chief of the thirty, fell, while opposing Thrasybulus with great valor. After the defeat of this general, Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, came to the assistance of those who were in Athens. He effected a treaty of peace between Thrasybulus and the besieged. The conditions were, that with the exception of the thirty tyrants, and the ten whom they had appointed Prætors, and who had been the ministers and accomplices of their cruelties, no one should be exiled, no confiscation of property should take place, and that the government should be restored to the people. Cornelius Nepos said of this great man: *Many have desired, few have obtained the happiness of delivering their country from a single tyrant; Thrasybulus alone delivered his from thirty.*

9. *ἔξαιτοῦνται*] *Solicit, ask the favor.* This word is also 68 employed in this sense in Euripides, *Androm.* 53.

Ἦτησε Φοῖβον, πατρὸς οὗ τίνειν δίκην,
 Εἰ πως τὰ πρόσθεν σφάλματ' ἔξαιτούμενος,
 Θεὸν παράσχοιτ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εὖμενῃ.

12. *ἐν ταιαύτῃ πόλει,*] Some critics might perhaps be tempted to write instead of *πόλει*, the word *πολιτεία*, on account of the preceding *δημοκρατία*. But the word *πολιτείαν*, which comes after, being too near, I prefer to leave the text as it is, understanding *δημοκρατουμένην*.

15. *Τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται*] *How it is assigned, permitted, prescribed to a just and honest defender to intercede.* The words *ἀποδέδεικται* and *ἀπολέλειπται* are so similar when written, that there might be some doubts with regard to their genuineness, but the sense of the former appears to me so good as not to require any change. In my text I have preferred the transposition of the following words, which are commonly thus, *ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ συνηγόρῳ καὶ σώφρονι*; the sense in this case does not appear to me clear enough.

18. *Ἐγγεῖται, κ. τ. λ.*] *The first water flows for the accuser.* He alludes to the clepsydra, used by the ancient to measure the time each orator was to speak. (See Notes, p. 136. l. 12.)

22. *τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ, κ. τ. λ.*] *If by the first vote the violation of the law is not declared to be nothing in this case, or if the criminal is not acquitted.* It must be remembered that in criminal cases the judges pronounced twice. First they decided with regard to the fact; next they determined the punishment. By the first sentence they only declared whether they condemned or acquitted the defendant. If the plurality of votes was for the condemnation, the defendant, if the crime was not a capital one, was obliged to declare himself what punishment he deserved. After that followed a second sentence from the magistrates, proportioning the punishment to the crime.

30. *διενεγκεῖν,*] This has the signification of *ἐνεγκεῖν, δίδόναι ψήφον*, *to carry, give a vote.* The addition of the preposition *διὰ* here makes the word express moreover, *to carry a vote, discerning on which side you ought to give it.*

69 11. *σανίδιον*] *tablet*, upon which the accusation was written.

13. *καὶ τί δεῖ σε, κ. τ. λ.*] *Why recur to Demosthenes?* Æschines would have much preferred that Demosthenes should not answer him, but Ctesiphon; as he might much more easily have overcome him than the former, whom he had good reason to fear, as the result showed.

15. *κακοῦργον*] I was much inclined to prefer the reading *πανῶργον*, which appears to me preferable here; I have left it on account of the same word, l. 29, for which there is no various reading.

24. *προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν,*] I have chosen to transpose the *μὴ* on account of the mistake which the reader would make at first sight, according to the common text, *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ π. ὑ. ἀ.* and if he does not feign that he understands you; whereas the true meaning is, and if he feigns that he does not understand you.

70 1. *Εἰ καλέσω*] *Am I to call Demosthenes?* I prefer it as more energetic than *εἰ καλέσοι*, which is narrative.

2. *καλῶν γὰρ*] These two words are added, and give not only more strength, but more connexion to the speech.

7. *κἀγὼ κατηγορήκα, κ. τ. λ.*] This correction of my own consists, with regard to the most common text, in a transposition of some words, in a change of the pointing, and the parenthesis, which renders the sense clear and easy. These are the various readings for this part of the text. 1. *ὄνπερ κἀγὼ ᾧδέ πως κατηγορήκα, ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς.* 2. *ὄνπερ κἀγὼ κατηγορήκα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγορήκα; ἱ. κ. ὑπ. ὑμᾶς.* 3. *ὄνπ. κἀ. κατ. Καὶ πῶς κατηγορήκα; ᾧδε.*

12. *ἀπέδειξα*] Preferable to *ἐπέδειξα*, since the ancient editions have it thus, and it is also similar to the modern Greek expression *ἀπέδειξα τοὺς νόμους.*

71 1. *τρίτον δὲ, κ. τ. λ.*] *In the third place, (the most important of all that I say) to make his apology in answer to my charge of his not being worthy of the recompense.* My whole correction consists in the transposition of *τὸ* and the insertion of *ᾧν*. These are the different readings. 1. *τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς εἰδὲ ἀξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς.* 2. *τρίτον δὲ (τὸ μέγιστον λέγω) ὡς ἀξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς.* 3. *ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιός ἐστι.*

6. πάλαισμα] A lawyer's trick. Παλαισματα τὰ ἀγωνίσματα, 71
οἷς βούλεται τις καταπαλαῖσαι τὸν ἀντίδικον. What the Germans
call *fechterstreich*.

14. ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν,] I have thought best to place these
words after μάχεσθε, although others have them after ὑμεῖς·
the sense thus becomes more clear and natural.

15. περιΐζασθαι,] As if he had said, ἵστασθαι περὶ λόγους ἔς πρὸς
τὸ παράνομον ἀποβλέποντας, *to begin speeches which have nothing
to do with the violation of the laws.*

21. βαλαντιοτόμον] A *pick-pocket*, a *cut-purse*, alluding to
the charge of Æschines against Demosthenes, that he was guilty
of peculation.

25. μεταβαλλόμενος,] The same as μεταβάλλον τὸν τρόπον, *in
changing his manner*, that is, *from tears passing to insults.*

27. διηριθμημένους] This word commonly signifies *enumerated*,
but here, *separated, distinguished.*

2. δημοκρατία] Some add the article ἡ. I prefer the passage 72
without it.

4. ἐκ παιδείας] *of their education*; that is to say, *having
pronounced the best word their education had taught them*; as
if he said, ὡς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους ἄνδρας χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. This
word was the μὴ μνησικακεῖν, *forgetfulness of the past*, an
expression used in the decrees of the Athenians to put an end
to their civil wars. This decree is called by Plutarch, τὸ τῆς
ἀμνηστίας ψήφισμα, *the decree of amnesty*, whence the word has
passed into the modern languages.

5. ἐλκοποιεῖς,] literally, *you produce ulcers*, or better, *you
tear open our wounds*. A metaphorical expression for *you ex-
asperate the minds*.

6. ἀνθημερόν] The adverb is more commonly used, and is
preferable to the adjective ἀνθημέρων or ἀνθημερινῶν.

15. περιγράφετέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας,] It is better with the in-
terrogation. It is also written περιεγράφατε and περιγράφατε.
Reiske writes the future, and adds εἰ.

18. ἢ πρὸς] Others omit this ἢ. I do not agree with
them, but think it very good and even elegant. The most
symmetrical is not always the most beautiful. There are

72 certain apparent irregularities made by skilful artists, which are far more pleasing than the work of the rule and compass.

22. ἐξορμείς] *Thou art ready to start, thou art like a vessel just weighing anchor; ἐκχωρεῖν μελετᾶς καὶ ἀποφεύγειν.*

27. ἀτίμητος;] This name was applied to a cause in which the laws did not define the punishment or penalty, the decision being left to the judges. It is in contradistinction to τιμητός, where the laws affixed the penalty, without its being left to the discretion of the judges. Thus, then, ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος; means *and the sentence, can it be arbitrarily given by the judges? or rather, is not the penalty determined by the laws?*

73 6. ἐκέλευτο,] *The city shaved itself.* A metaphor taken from funeral ceremonies; for after the loss of a dear friend, it was customary for persons, as a sign of their grief, to cut off their hair and lay it upon the body of him whom they mourned. It was a very old custom, and is mentioned by several authors of antiquity. Homer speaks of it several times, in describing the affliction of Achilles at the death of Patroclus. Traces of it are also found in the *Electra* of Sophocles. Bion, relating the death of Adonis, says:

Ἄμφι δὲ μὴν κλαίοντες ἀναστενάχουσιν Ἐρωτες
Κειράμενοι χαίτας ἐπ' Ἀδώνιδι.

If we were to seek for the probable origin of such a custom, it might perhaps be found in those effects which excessive grief first produces. For in great affliction it is very natural that a person should tear his hair. Other nations, with the same feelings and for the same reason, suffered their hair and beard to grow, in such cases. So true it is that mere fancy is often the rule in such customs, attaching to conventional signs whatever idea it pleases.

9. κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν.] *A wretch, who seeks to appear virtuous, but hates virtue in his heart.* Κάθαρμα properly means an *expiatory victim*. This name was given to a few abject and useless creatures who were maintained at Athens, so that, in case of any public calamity, as the plague or any thing of the kind, they might be put to death in expiation of the offence which was thought to be the cause of so severe a

punishment. Ζηλοτυποῦν is for μισοῦν. For the word ζηλοῦν is 73 taken in a good sense, and signifies *to emulate*, whence comes the word ζῆλος; but ζηλοτυπεῖν expresses the *invidious hatred* which one person bears to another, and is composed of ζῆλος, *zeal*, and τύπος, *impression*, who have the impression alone of zeal, but not the reality.

14. μιαιρᾶν] Some read μικρᾶν, having in mind this passage of Aristotle: οὐδεμία μὲν κεφαλὴ μικρὰ, ἀγαθὴ· οὐκ ἔξ ἀνάγκης δ' ἀγαθὴ, ἢ μεγάλη.

21. πρόσδορον] It appears to me that the play upon words in this passage would be complete, if we could find authority to substitute κεφάλαιον, *capital*, for the word πρόσδορον, *revenue*. It seems to me also more logical, because the head may be like the capital which gives the revenue, but it is not so natural to say that the head is the revenue itself.

2. ἐμπληξίαν] *Terror with amazement*, like a man who is 74 stupefied, being struck by a thunderbolt.

10. ὠφέληται, κ. τ. λ.] Reiske writes thus: ὠφέληται πολλά, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται. I have preferred the reading found in editions prior to his, and which appears to me incomparably better, the word πολλά being governed by the preposition κατὰ of the verb; as if it was: βέβλαπται δὲ κατὰ πολλά ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

19. καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, κ. τ. λ.] *And he blames excessively even my conversation in the Gymnasia, with those younger than myself.* Those who were fond of letters, loved to go to the Gymnasia, or places where the young men exercised in wrestling or boxing, to talk with them and to instruct them by useful and agreeable conversation. Demosthenes will not attack his antagonist for this taste of his, perhaps somewhat frivolous for an Athenian minister. He will bring forward, however, most of these charges which Æschines had foreseen with sagacity, and refuted with great address; but it will be with a triumphant power which Æschines certainly did not expect.

23. ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, κ. τ. λ.] *Making a parade of his zeal with Alexander, knowing that he hated Demosthenes.* It is not however by the charge that he is paying court to Alexander,

74 that Demosthenes in the very beginning of his speech is to throw suspicion upon the accusation of Æschines, but by reproaching him for attacking him for things long since past, though he might have accused him while the facts were still fresh in every one's memory.

25. μέλλει με ἀνερωτῆν,] *He will ask me.* Æschines here undertakes to anticipate and refute the probable charge of Demosthenes, that he only meddled with public business rarely and at intervals, (p. 187.) Our orator exculpates himself by two reasons. The first is, his frugality; for he knows how to be content with little, very different in this respect from his antagonist, whose eager rapacity alternately binds and releases his tongue. The second, that he is only using the liberty which a popular government gives to every citizen, to appear and to withdraw, to speak or be silent, as he pleases.

75 9. ὅποιαν — προστάττωσιν.] *When those who hire you, command you.* It was proverbially said of such a man, βούς ἐπὶ γλώττη βέβηκε, *an ox has mounted upon his tongue*; in allusion to an Athenian coin, stamped with the figure of an ox. This proverb is also sometimes used to signify *a man silent from principle*, in allusion to the heavy jaw of this large and clumsy animal; and it is in this sense that Pythagoras was said to place an ox on the tongue of his disciples, to signify the long silence which he imposed upon them. It is said that Demosthenes was sometimes bribed to be silent; witness ἡ συνάγχη, that very convenient *stuffed throat* of his, with which he was charged under the name of ἀργυροάγχη, *stuffed purse*.

14. φιλιππου ζῶντος,] *During the life of Philip*, Æschines brought forward his accusation, but the trial did not take place till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. (See the prolegomena, p. 1.)

30. μηδέπω κενόισθα] *When you bring forward the circumstance that I have never accused you.* Æschines had, undoubtedly, more than once attacked Demosthenes from the tribune, in his speeches, but he had never prosecuted him before a court of law.

14. Πόλλιν] Chabrias, an Athenian general, conquered *Pollis* 76 near Naxos in a naval engagement.

22. Ἀναξίνου] The reason why Æschines disapproves of the conduct of Demosthenes towards Anaxinus, is found in the answer of Demosthenes, (p. 135, l. 3.) With regard to Anaxinus, this is the only place in which his name is found. It is unknown what was his crime. He was undoubtedly guilty; but it was not for Demosthenes, whose guest he was, to have him condemned, unless the public safety very urgently required his death.

26. τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας, καίτοι] *And you have caused his death, although, &c.* If my text is here compared with that of other editions, it will be seen that I have transposed the words commonly placed after ποιούμενος, and instead of καί, I have written καίτοι· my pointing is also a little different from that of the other editions, which do not all agree. I flatter myself that the text, as I have it, is more clear, neat, and flowing, and that it pleases the ear more, while at the same time it gives better sense.

31. ξενοκτόνος] *Assassin of a guest.* Æschines could not accuse Demosthenes of a more atrocious crime. For among the Greeks there were no rights more sacred and inviolable than those of hospitality. They gave to a stranger the same claim to protection as relationship, friendship, and neighbourhood gave to a fellow citizen.

2. τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας] *The salt of the city, that is, the ta- 77*
bles of Athens. As the common use of salt and the table gives origin to friendship, familiarity, and intimacy, they have become emblematic of these feelings. Aristotle says that, *according to the proverb, we cannot mutually know each other fully, without having eaten together a certain quantity of salt, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους, πρὶν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἅλας συναλωῶσαι.* The same author says also in another passage, *εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμος τῶν ἁλῶν· the bushel of salt has become a proverb.* We may remember also the famous maxim, ἅλας καὶ τράπεζαν μὴ παραβαίνειν, *not to violate the salt and the table.*

77 5. ἀνυπάρκτοις] I have corrected thus, instead of the common ἀγενήτοις, for which there are also the following various readings: ἀγνώστοις, ἀγνοήτοις, ἀνοήτοις, ἀνονήτοις, ἀγεννήτοις.

7. ἐπερωτᾷν με — μέλλει] *He will ask me.* We cannot but admire the skill with which Æschines anticipates the arguments of his antagonist, brought forward, on p. 168, l. 16. We should be almost tempted to imagine that he had already read the speech, or that some one who had heard Demosthenes read it, had given him an exact account of it; otherwise we must attribute to Æschines an almost supernatural sagacity. (See Proleg. p. ιέ.)

10. ἔννατα] Literally, *the ninths*, ceremonies practised for the soul of the dead, on the ninth day after he expired, just as the name τρίτα, was given to the ceremonies of the third day. These are still practised in Greece under a different form, and the former are called ἐννεάμερα and the latter τρίμερα. This should be a sufficient answer to those who translate the word ἔννατα, by *funeral*. It was undoubtedly a ceremony subsequent to the funeral, but not the funeral itself.

14. ἀποδοῖτο] And not the common ἀπόδοιτο.

29. ὡς ἐγὼ, κ. τ. λ.] I have not been willing to adopt the correction of ὦν instead of ὡς, nor that of ἀγανακτῶν instead of ἀγανακτῶ. The sense appears to me clear enough as the words are. *And by the Olympian Gods (if, however, the report I have heard is true), it is about that which I am going to mention that I am most indignant.*

78 2. κηλεῖσθαι] In its proper sense this word is employed to express the charm and the pleasure which we feel, upon hearing fine music, particularly the sound of the flute or of a beautiful voice.

79 3. ἐπεισιόντων,] Preferable to the common reading ἐπεισαγόντων.

4. Θερσίτην] Homer speaks of him in the second book of the Iliad. He represents him as a monster of deformity and of cowardice, whose insolent tongue did not spare the chiefs of the army. Æschines here makes Demosthenes a Thersites; but he attacks rather his character than his person.

21. τὸς ἐγκυκλιῶς χοροῦς] The name of *circular or Bacchic choirs* was given to the bands of musicians who sung the

dithyrambus, and danced to the sound of these hymns in hon- 79
 or of Bacchus; sometimes joining hands, sometimes with their
 hands free. From the service of the altars the choirs were in-
 troduced into tragedy, which itself was originally only a relig-
 ious ceremony, and formed a part of public worship. Their
 origin, therefore, was very exalted, and they anciently held a
 high station upon the stage, of which they were considered as
 the principal ornament. As it was inevitable that disputes
 should arise among the large number of persons who composed
 these choirs, they had their own proper judges, who investigated
 their quarrels and settled them. And it is of these judges that
 Æschines here speaks.

15. καὶ πλείους] Reiske, and the editors who have followed 80
 him, write οἱ πλείους. It appears to me very correct as it is, for
 we ought not to oblige men of genius always to speak by rule and
 compass. It is very well for a man of a phlegmatic disposition
 to follow the natural order of things, and to say: *and even some
 were of the number of the thirty tyrants, who put to death fifteen
 hundred citizens without a trial.* Instead of *who*, to put *and*,
 which refers to the word *some*, at first appears an irregularity,
 since it was the whole thirty, and not a few of them who caused
 these citizens to be put to death; but we must recollect that the
 will and the vote of a few was equally the cause of their death,
 and therefore the orator in his vehemence and indignation can
 very well refer to a few, what was done by the whole band of
 the thirty tyrants of which they were members.

1. τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰς τάφους,] *Having palisaded the walls and* 81
the ditches. It is more commonly written οὐδὲ τὰς τάφους, and
 Reiske places the passage between brackets, as suspicious,
 and others after him omit it entirely.

2. ἀελόντια] *Having destroyed the public tombs.* This
 word likewise signifies *raised*; but I have preferred the former
 meaning, because Demosthenes had not been appointed to raise
 or rebuild the tombs, but to repair the walls; and these repairs,
 which were hastily made, might perhaps require the demolish-
 ing of some tombs which were in the way, and the materials
 of which might be employed.

81 21. ἐπιστολήν,] History does not tell us on what occasion the king of Persia wrote to the Athenians the letter here mentioned by the orator.

82 5. τὴν ἄκρην] The citadel *Cadmeia*, which was probably in the hands of the Macedonians.

8. ἢ πρῶξις ἢ γεγένηται ;] *We could not improve the opportunity.* I know of no traces in history of the two facts here mentioned by Æschines.

15. ἐγκωμιάζοι,] I have thus corrected, instead of leaving the common ἐγκωμιάσει.

28. Ἀλεξάνδρος] *Alexander*, king of the Molossians (a people of Epirus, whose capital, Dodona, was famous for its temple and the oracle of Jupiter), had carried war into Italy and perished there. His armies were routed, and he was obliged to fly. As he was crossing a river on horseback, he received a mortal blow. His death did not satisfy the fury of his enemies ; they offered a thousand insults to his body, and after having cut it to pieces, it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to allow the remains of this unfortunate king to be carried back to his country, to his wife Cleopatra. It was on this mournful occasion that Ctesiphon was sent to present to the afflicted queen the compliments of condolence. Although a man may have the talent of composing and speaking proper compliments on such occasions without being able to plead a cause, we cannot but believe that the Athenians, so famous for their skill and sense of propriety in speaking, chose on such occasions citizens who possessed these qualities in an eminent degree.

83 3. Χαβρίαν, κ. τ. λ.] *Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus*, three celebrated Athenian generals, known principally by the victories here mentioned by Æschines.

8. μόρον] *A body.* Xenophon, in his Lacedæmonian Republic, thus defines it: Ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἓνα, λοχαγούς τέτταρας, πεντηκοστῆρας ὀκτώ, ἐνωμοτάρχας ἑκκαίδεκα. Consequently it must have been a body of four hundred men.

11. ἀντεροῦ] Commonly written ἐάν τις ἐρωτῆ, διὰ τί οὐ δάσσετε ; Reiske omits the interrogation and adds the word φήσετε.

19. ἀποκτείνῃ τινα,] I have transposed the *τινα*, to give more clearness. In other editions it is placed after *εἰν*. There is also this reading: εἴ τῳ or εἰν τῳ ἐμπεσόντα. As to the fact, we find the following passage in Pausanias, lib. VI. 11, 2. Δράκων Ἀθηναίους θεσμούς γράψας φονικούς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψιχα, εἴ γε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον. Solon, who annulled the laws of Draco, as too severe, did not alter those with regard to murder, but left them in full force. The causes of inanimate murderers were judged by the tribunal called τὸ ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ, the tribunal of the *Prytaneum*. Pausanias places the origin of that jurisdiction as far back as king Erechtheus. Though frivolous and puerile in appearance, their object was very serious and very wise. It was to destroy in the hearts of men all thoughts of murder, by making it an unpardonable crime.

20. αὐτὸν διαχρήσεται,] *If any one kills himself, &c.* The contempt which the ancients had for those who committed suicide, may be seen also in this passage of Aristotle. Nicom. lib. III. 7. Τὸ δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φεύγοντα πενίαν ἢ ἔρωτα ἢ τι λυπηρὸν οὐκ ἀνδρείου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δειλοῦ· μαλακία γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τὰ ἐπίπονα.

30. τί ἀποκρινεῖσθε ;] It is also written τί κρινεῖτε ;

30. αἱ παλαιστραί,] *Palæstræ*, places where the young men practised wrestling, boxing, and other exercises, which formed a part of their education; just as in our own times young men are taught to dance, to ride, to fence, that the powers of the body may be developed after those of the mind.

31. οὐδ' ἢ μουσικὴ μόνον] This name was given to all the sciences; undoubtedly because the first sages and philosophers were poets who sung their own verses, teaching men by their songs, and endeavoring, while amusing their minds and pleasing their ears, to instruct them in the civil and moral virtues, and the sciences necessary to their happiness.

27. τὸν λόγον] It is also written καὶ τῶν λόγων ὥσπερ τὰς βε- 84
βαιώσεις τῶν κηρυγμάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι εἰς β. Reiske has it thus: καὶ τῶν λόγων τὰς βεβαιώσεις (ὡς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων ὁ ν. κ. π.)

85 12. ὡςπερ παραγεγηρακῶς] *As if he had fallen into childhood.* It is what we now call ἐξαναμωραμένος, from ἐξ, ἀνά, μωρός, that is, *a second time silly*, or rather, *childish*, since μωρὸ παιδί, is used to signify *a child in the cradle*, and the word παιδί is frequently understood.

17. ἐράνων, κ. τ. λ.] *As if you were returning from some luncheon, after having divided the dishes handed around, or the remains of the feast.* I presume that he here alludes to the large sums derived from the contributions of the allies of the republic; sums originally destined for expeditions for the welfare of Greece, but which were by abuse used for distributions to the people on the days of assembly, and of public shows.

23. Ἐτερος δ' ἰδιώτης] This *other individual* was named Leocrates. He was one of those timid citizens, who could not resist the fear which prevailed in Athens after the defeat at Chæronea, and sought safety in flight. The orator Lycurgus accused him before the courts, of having betrayed his country, and violated the decree passed a few days after the battle of Chæronea, which forbade any citizen to leave Athens. Lycurgus has described the character of Leocrates, and has related his desertion and flight in the only speech which remains to us from him.

26. εἰ δέ, κ. τ. λ.] *Had there been one more ball, he would have suffered exile or death.* It was the common practise of the Athenians to acquit, when the votes were divided. They never failed on such occasions to favor the accused and not the accuser. A very wise practice, and in accordance with all the laws of justice and humanity.

28. ὁ πάντων] Preferable to the common reading, ἀπάντων.

86 5. τὰ Πύθια — συνέδριον —] *In a few days the Pythian games and the meeting of the Greeks will take place.* When Æschines pronounced this speech, the Amphictyonic council, or States General of Greece, were about to assemble at Delphi, to deliberate on the common interests of the whole nation, and to preside at the Pythian games, one of the four solemn games of Greece, celebrated every five years near Delphi, in honor of

Pythian Apollo, and of which they were the *ex officio* judges. 86
(See Notes, p. 119, l. 17.)

24. Ἄλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, κ. τ. λ.] Here the peroration begins. It is beautiful, magnificent, and grand, and at the same time very touching and pathetic. Æschines bring before us Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, all the heroes who on the plains of Marathon and of Platæa, sacrificed their lives for the republic. He calls them forth from their tombs to witness the sentence presently to be pronounced. He calls upon the earth, the sun, upon virtue, that universal reason, that celestial light, which illumines every mind, and makes it distinguish good and evil. In a word he omits nothing to engage all nature in his contest, to raise heaven and earth, gods and men, against Demosthenes.

25. Βυζάντιον — ἐξελέσθαι] We see in the speech itself of Demosthenes how he saved Byzantium. This orator says nothing of the Acarnanians, a people of Epirus in Greece, whom he undoubtedly excited against the king of Macedonia. The determination of the Thebans to alliance with the Athenians, is the most striking and the most important part of his speech.

14. Ἄρθμιον] *Arthmius* was the son of Pythonax, and born 87 at Zelia, a town of Troad. He frequently passed through Athens, where he enjoyed the rights of hospitality. As an emissary of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, he scattered through Peloponnesus the gold of this prince. He came to Athens; but the Athenians, having discovered his practices, banished him from their city, and declared him and his posterity for ever infamous. Much is said of him in the third Philippic.

17. παρ' οὐδέν μὲν ἦλθον] *It wanted nothing*, synonymous with παρὰ μικρὸν, παρ' ὀλίγον, *little was wanting*.

27. Ἐγὼ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes ridicules with great severity this passage of Æschines, (p. 132, l. 2.)

29. βεβόηθηκα] Reiske is in favor of βεβόηκα.

ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES FOR CTESIPHON.

90 1. *Πρῶτον*] In every age both of the ancient and the modern world, this exordium has been regarded as a master-piece. Demosthenes begins by presenting to his hearers the most grand of all sights. He opens to them Olympus, and he engages all the gods and all the goddesses to favor his cause. But while he offers to their mind those objects most capable of exciting wonder and admiration, he does not neglect to bring forward that which may also affect their feelings. In the beginning of his oration, he leaves nothing untried to do away the evil impressions which the speech of Æschines might have produced, and to engage the judges to suspend their decision, until they have also heard what he has to say in his defence. Although this demand is a perfectly just one, he takes care to bring forward every thing which can enforce it. He therefore recalls with great skill to the mind of his hearers, the services he has rendered to the republic, services which were certainly a great presumption in his favor; the oath of the judges, who have solemnly sworn to hold an even balance between the two parties, and to hear both accuser and accused with perfect impartiality; and two great advantages which Æschines possesses as the plaintiff in this cause, and which ought to induce the judges to lean rather to his own side, if it was right for them to look with greater favor upon one than the other. He finishes his exordium as he begins it, that is, by imploring the assistance of the gods. And this he does, that he may first give the judges a great opinion of his religion, being persuaded that there was no better way to obtain their confidence, than by showing above all things piety, the possession of which renders worthy of credit all the actions and all the words of men.

2. πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις,] *I pray all the gods and goddesses.* 90
Demosthenes appears to have had in view this famous line of
Homer: (Iliad, θ' 5.)

Κέλκυτέ μεν πάντες τε θεοὶ, πᾶσαι τε θείαιναι.

These two celebrated passages have not escaped Lucian, who, as is his custom, applies them in a very witty and amusing manner. He supposes that Jupiter, having called an extraordinary meeting of the gods, for an affair which is of the last importance to them, is disconcerted at the sight of the prodigious crowd which is gathering on Olympus, and losing his presence of mind, tells Mercury he does not know whether he ought to begin by the line of Homer which we have just quoted. Mercury, who has some fondness for orators, advises him to take an exordium from the speeches of Demosthenes, altering it a little to adapt it to his subject, as the modern orators do. In another dialogue Lucian introduces Rhetoric, complaining that he has abandoned her for dialogues, and in the speech she makes on the subject, she uses the exordium of Demosthenes. It seems that the ingenious author wishes to give us to understand by this, that Rhetoric herself, when speaking in her own cause, could not do better than to repeat the opening of a speech which all ages have unanimously regarded as the most perfect model of eloquence. We must believe, however, that the object of Lucian was not only to eulogize Demosthenes, but also to censure the plagiaries of his time.

6. τοῦτο παρασιῆσαι] The sense is as if the passage stood thus: ἔπειτ' εὐχομαι ἵν' οἱ θεοὶ εἰς νοῦν ὑμῶν ἐμβάλωσι τὸ μὴ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ συμβουλευσασθαι περὶ τοῦ τρόπου καθ' ὃν ἀκουστέον ἐμὲ, ὅπερ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ.

11. Ὁμοίως, κ. τ. λ.] *To hear equally both parties.* Solon and almost all legislators have made it an express law. But it is a law which nature has indelibly engraved on every heart, and which every one intuitively assents to, the moment it is expressed. It is one of those first principles which carry their own evidence with them. Whoever judges after having heard but one party, even though his decision may be just, is yet guilty of a sort of injustice; and if he listens to one with more

90 favor than to the other, we may of course say that it is to one only that he gives a fair hearing. Phocylides, in his beautiful poem on the different duties of men, has not forgotten this important maxim :

Μή τι δίκην δικάσης, πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης.

The Athenian judges regarded this great rule as the basis and the foundation of their jurisprudence. They engaged themselves by a solemn oath to observe it with the greatest strictness. And in the speech on the *Ill-managed Embassy*, Æschines says to the Athenians, with the express purpose of throwing odium on Demosthenes : ὅς ἐτόλμησε παρακελεύσασθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁμωμοκότας τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσεσθαι, τὴν τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος φωνὴν μὴ ὑπομένειν.

91 1. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν —] *But to me*—we might add κίνδυνός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων. This rhetorical figure is called ἀποσιώπησις. He then says why he did not finish what he had begun to say ; *but I will pronounce no words of ill omen in the beginning of my speech.* We must remember that the ancients had a superstitious fear of certain sinister expressions. To pronounce such words, they called βλασφημεῖν. This superstition was remarkably seen in the ceremonies of sacrifices, in which the herald took great care to warn the people to pronounce no unlucky word. This was also carefully attended to in other places besides the temples. Demosthenes in his oration *against Leptines*, when speaking of the ancient splendor of Athens says : τότε μὲν ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν, καὶ γῆς ἡνῴορει, καὶ χρημάτων· νῦν δὲ εὐπορήσει, δεῖ γὰρ οὕτω λέγειν, καὶ μὴ βλασφημεῖν.

2. ἐκ περιουσίας] *He accuses me gratuitously, being at liberty to do it or not.* Some have understood by this passage that Æschines, enriched by the money he had received from Philip and Alexander, does not fear to lose his cause, since he can very well afford to pay the fine. I prefer the other interpretation ; that Æschines had it in his power to remain quiet, while Demosthenes must necessarily defend himself, and cannot avoid answering : in that case ἐκ περιουσίας, becomes almost synonymous with ἐκ περιττοῦ, as if he added, περιττὸν γὰρ ἐμοῦ μάτην καθάπτεσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν.

3. ὁ φύσει] Reiske, instead of ὁ, which refers to ἔτερον, 91 writes ἄ, referring to l. 6. τούτων τοίνυν. I am so far from agreeing with him in this instance, that if the text stood as it is corrected by him, I should have felt inclined to alter it, and to write it as it stands originally. Τούτων τοίνυν refers to the two things preceding, p. 90, l. 19, Ἐν μὲν, p. 91, l. 3, Ἐτερον δέ. That is, it refers to these grammatically; but for the sense, the orator has in view the latter only, as if he had forgotten what he had first said. This is one of those instances of inattention, which are always found in writers who think more of their subject than of the words which they employ, and which, in such cases, should be regarded as beauties rather than faults. The ear, to which I often appeal as a judge in my decisions upon the text of the orators, is very well satisfied with the text as it is, ὁ φύσει, but in reading the passage as corrected by Reiske, this ἄ arrests me, and seems like a rock which rises and disturbs the calm and peaceful flow of a river. •

5. τοῖς ἐπαινεῖσι δ' αὐτῆς ἄχθεσθαι.] *To be indignant against those who praise themselves.* It is true in general, that one who praises himself runs a great risk of displeasing. Yet there are cases in which we can with propriety and advantage become our own panegyrists. Such are cases in which the praise is supported by truth, and founded upon merit universally acknowledged; when it is necessary; when it is used, not to add to the glory of him who praises himself, but to defend him from a certain danger, which he does not deserve to encounter. A person may then speak his own praise, provided he do it with dignity, and that he speak only of his heart and of his good deeds; for all men seem to have agreed that no one should ever permit himself to speak boastingly of his mind and his talents. Self-praise on such occasions, and with these precautions, rather conciliates, than displeases, and calling back the mind of the hearer from the confusion into which it had been thrown by strange events, gives him the invariable law which he is to follow. History furnishes several remarkable examples of this. I will mention only that of Pericles, who

91 seeing that the Athenians, exasperated by the evils of war and the plague, began to murmur against him, the apparent author of their calamities, for having counselled war, said to them in the assembly which he had called together purposely to appease them: *Καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν οἴομαι εἶναι γινῶναι τε τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα· φιλόπολις τε, καὶ χρημάτων κρείστων.* Thuc. L. ii. 60. Dionysius of Halicarnassus severely blames Pericles on this account; and perhaps he judges of the goodness of the speech from its success, since Pericles was deprived of the command and condemned to pay a fine. It is certain, however, that the speech produced an instantaneous effect; for Thucydides assures us that the whole assembly were convinced: *οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπίθοντο*· but that the citizens returning to their houses and being reminded of all they had to suffer, could no longer bear the violence of their sufferings, and passed sentence against their great magistrate. We must grant then, according to the testimony of the historian, that the speech of Pericles was at first successful; and if this famous Athenian general fell from his power not long afterwards, it was the fault, not of his eloquence, but of circumstances.

11. *βαδίζω,*] *I walk.* This word is here employed figuratively; *if I walk over my actions as a public and private man,* that is, *if I enter into the details of my public and private life.*

21. *τω*] It has no accent because it is enclitic, and has the same signification as *τινι*.

22. *μάλις* α δέ — *ὄσω περ*] instead of *τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ὄσω.* W.

25. *ἀξιώ* καὶ *δέομαι*] These two words are almost synonymous, yet we may take the first in the sense of *I think it just,* and the second as meaning *I beg of you.* By the first of these words he preserves dignity, by the other he seeks to gain pity.

26. *ὁμοίως ὑμῶν,*] It was enough, observes Taylor, to say: *ὁμοίως ἀκοῦσαι μου ἀπολογουμένον,* without *δικαίως,* which is probably a comment on *ὁμοίως.* The remark which Taylor makes, shows that he construed *ὁμοίως* with *ἀκοῦσαι*· but this is incorrect; it should be construed with *ὑμῶν,* *all of you,* without exception, strong or weak, young or old, &c.

2. *πρότερος*] One manuscript gives *πρότερον* instead of *πρό- 92*
τερος. This gratuitous correction was probably made by some
grammarian, puzzled by an infinitive preceded by a nom-
inative. But *πρότερος* should be retained, because it is un-
derstood of the same person to whom the word *ἰσχύει* relates.
Thus, p. 162, l. 23, ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός.

3. *παρελθεῖν*,] *to pass beyond, or escape*; but it is here used
for *νικῆσαι*, a metaphor in allusion to racers; and as the words
διώκων, *accuser*, and *φεύγων*, *accused*, would be translated liter-
ally the *pursuer* and the *pursued*, it is a remarkably happy one.

5. *λέγοντος ὑστερον*] It is also written *ὑστερου λέγοντος*, and
Reiske even prefers it thus. I do not agree with him, and it is
sufficient to observe the hiatus resulting from τοῦ ὑστ. The
oldest editions also have the text as I have retained it.

6. *προςδέξεται, — ποιήσεται*] It is also written *προςδέξεται*,
and *ποιήσεται*; but I am inclined to consider it better as left in
my text, since it is more analogous to our modern dialect.

7. *διάγνωσιν*] According to Taylor, *διάγνωσιν* is the Attic
for *διαγνώμην*, and his note is founded on the opinion of Thom-
as Magister. But it is not so. Demosthenes uses *διάγνωσις*,
not because it is more in accordance with the Attic mode of
expression, but because *διαγνώμη* would here be improper.
Διάγνωσις means a *discussion*, and *διαγνώμη* what *results from a*
discussion, that is, *the decree*, as we may see it in Thucyd. L. i.
87, ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς κελύσθαι,
and in L. iii. 42, οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην ἀνθις.

13. *διατελῶ*] This verb, joined with a participle, indicates
constancy, habit, and continuance.

17. *παραστήσαι*] *to bring to your mind*, and *παρίστασθαι*, *to*
come to the mind. (See p. 90, l. 6, and note.)

20. *προβουλευμάτος*] This word means a *preparatory decree*,
preliminary decree of the Senate. (See *προβουλεύσαι*, p. 146,
l. 21; and Notes, p. 113, l. 25.) The decree of Ctesiphon
was approved by the Senate. The approbation of the people
was still necessary for its execution; and this Æschines wish-
ed to prevent, by accusing Ctesiphon of having infringed the
laws in his decree.

93 4. ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθῆς λέγω] See p. 191, l. 2, 3.

6. τούτω μὲν] On the authority of some manuscript, Reiske adds δὴ after μὲν.

11. εὐήθεις] It is here used instead of the adverb εὐήθως.

15. διέβαλες,] Some manuscripts have διέβαλλες, and Reiske even prefers the imperfect to the aorist. For my own part, I like the aorist better, though the preceding verb is in the imperfect; which is no reason why διέβαλες should also be in the imperfect, since, if we should change the first verb into a participle, we might correctly say ἃ καταψευδόμενος διέβαλες.

16. πομπείας] We should translate it thus: *a torrent of abuse*. It is used instead of the word ὕβρεως, λοιδορίας and this signification of the word πομπεία, which means *procession*, arises from the circumstance that in the processions they were accustomed to cast abuse on each other, διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς κωμωδεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν ἀλλήλους. We now use the word πομπιωμένοις, in the sense *defamed, dishonored*; and it comes from the same source.

16. ἀνέδην] from ἀνίεναι like συζάδην, βιάδην, from συνισάναι, βίαναι, and it means *licentiously, without restraint*. Taylor prefers ἀναίδην, which means *impudently*. Scholiast. Ἐὰν μὲν διὰ τῆς διφθόγγου γράφηται, τῆς ἀναισχύντου λέγει, ἂν δὲ διὰ τῶ ε, ὅπερ καὶ βέλτιον, τῆς πολλῆς, ἐκ τῆς ἀνέσεως, ἀθροῦς τε καὶ σφοδραῶς.

18. ἀκούειν,] Reiske, upon some authority, puts this word after βελομένοις. I know not what effect this may have upon others, but my ear is not pleased with this transposition.

21. ἡ προαίρεσις] *the end, intention*. In order better to understand the signification of this word for which it is quite difficult to find an equivalent in another language, see p. 120, l. 7. and p. 153, l. 26. This word is still much used among us, and particularly in this phrase: ἡθέλον νὰ ἰδῶ τὴν προαίρεσίν σου, *it was only to see your good-will, your intention*.

22. ἐπήρειαν, κ. τ. λ.] This word comes from ἐπηρεάζω, and means *malignity, ill-will*; ὕβρις, λοιδορία, προπηλακισμός, are three synonymes, but there is still some difference between them. We might translate them by *injury, insult, outrage*; and their difference seems to me to consist in this; the word

ὑβρις, expresses rather the intention than the action ; in the 93 word λοιδορία, the intention begins to show itself in abusive words ; and in the word προπηλακισμός, the intention, the words, and the action are united to complete the insult. The last word has its etymology from πηλός, dirt, as if we should say : *insult, by casting dirt upon one.* Instead of ὄμῃ, Reiske prefers ἐμῃ.

26. ἴδ' ἐγγύς.] Sc. τῆς ἀξίας δίκης. Wolfius. (See p. 121, l. 13.)

26. Οὐ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.] *For it is not proper to forbid any one a free access to the people.* We must confess that this γὰρ, *for,* is not in place here ; and having no connexion with what goes before, renders the passage rather obscure, and has led all critics to believe that the sentence must have been corrupted. Perhaps it stood ἴκ' ἄρ', *no certainly.* I doubt, however, whether even the correction that I have proposed would be satisfactory ; so that we must be content to leave it as it is, for fear of making it worse ; explaining the word γὰρ by καὶ ὁμολογῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄφ. *and I confess that it is not proper, &c.*

1. ἐτραγῳδεῖ] *he declaimed like a tragedian.* There is much 94 severity in the Greek word. It reminds the Athenians of the former occupation of Æschines, who began by being a player, or as Demosthenes says, by being a *country-player, a mere actor of third-rate parts.*

2. παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα] *in the fact, at the very time that I committed the crimes ;* εὐθὺς ὅτε ἠδίκουν ἐγὼ ταῦτα. Wolfius.

3. εἰσαγγελίας ἀξία] *Things worthy of denunciation.* The action εἰσαγγελία, was entered against the citizen who was unfaithful in a public office, betrayed his country, or led the people away by vain promises. The accuser in this case, by the ancient law, enjoyed an unjust privilege ; he could lose his cause with impunity and without suffering any injury from it, even when the accused had been acquitted. The disorder occasioned by such license at length caused this law to be abolished ; a law which opened the door for calumny, and multiplied accusers to infinity. They were subject afterwards to a pecuniary fine, if in the verdict they had not a fifth part of the suffrages in their favor.

94 6. Οὐ γὰρ — δύναται] Gail proposes to understand εἶναι τῷ-
το, after δύναται, and to translate it, *for it cannot be*; but I think
it more simple to take δύναται for δυνατόν ἐστι, *For it is not
possible he should have accused Ctesiphon from hatred toward
me, and not have accused me in person, if he thought he could
convict me.* Some editors put ἐνόμιζεν αὐτόν, but I think the
comma is better after ἐνόμιζεν. I should be very willing however
to omit the comma entirely; or to restore that which I have
taken away after ἐμέ δ', because in pronouncing the discourse,
we ought not to pause here, ἐμέ δ' αὐτόν being an Attic tmesis
instead of ἐμαντόν δέ.

11. καὶ τιμωρία] Hermogenes omits these two words.
Reiske places them after κρίσεις, and proposes to use the accusa-
tive by writing thus; κρίσεις καὶ τιμωρίας πικρὰς καὶ μεγάλη
ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια. I do not agree with him; and think it bet-
ter to leave it as it is.

13. ἐξῆν] Some editions have ἐξῆν αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐμέ.

16. αὐτοῦ.] Construe this with κατηγορία.

19. ὑποκρίνεται.] *He acts a comedy*; an allusion to the for-
mer employment of Æschines.

20. κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τστωνί.] This passage is thus
to be understood; *He accuses me, and puts him (Ctesiphon)
on trial.*

21. πως] Enclitic, meaning *in a certain manner.*

95 6. φιλοκράτους] Much is said about this *Philocrates* in the
oration of Æschines. See page 20 et seq.

11. Φωκικοῦ] See Notes, p. 51, l. 24.

17. Λεύκτροις] *Leuctra*, a city of Bœotia, near which the
Thebans, under the command of Epaminondas, gained a cele-
brated victory over the Lacedæmonians. This victory render-
ed them powerful in Greece, and very proud.

26. ἐαντούς] Some editions have ἀλλήλους.

28. ἐφύετο.] See φνομένον κακοῦ, p. 109, l. 19. This word
is properly used for plants, and is here employed metaphorical-
ly. We still retain this metaphor in our language, and say
πόθεν ἐφύτρωσε; in the sense of, *whence has he come? from what
place has he come out? whence does he make his appearance?*

30. ἀτυχεῖς] *unfortunate Thebans*; he says this because 95 Alexander had just sacked, and entirely destroyed their city.

20. Ἀριστοδήμος ἦν, ὁ ὕπ.] *It was Aristodemus, the comedi-* 96 *an.* We must remember that comedians were anciently more esteemed than they are in our day; that they were not even excluded from the administration of affairs. Those only were despised who, having but little talent, joined those companies that strolled through the country. Æschines began as an actor in these companies; and even, according to Demosthenes, only played third-rate parts. Our orator frequently alludes to this in his oration.

26. Εὐβ. κ. Κηφ.] *Eubulus and Cephisophon*, two citizens of Athens and officers of that city.

2. εἶτ', ὦ—] There is here also the rhetorical figure called 97 ἀποσιώπησις, *reticence*.

4. ἐτραγῳδαίς] Some critics write also διετραγῳδαίς, but I prefer it without the preposition.

6. παρελθῶν,] I have placed the comma after παρελθῶν, others have it after ταῦτα· but with this correction the sense seems to me more clear.

12. οὐδεῖς·] Some add εἰκότως after this word.

12. οὐδένα] Reiske prefers ἑδένας in the plural, and perhaps the hiatus caused by οὐδένα ἀπεστ. had some influence on his choice. Leaving it in the singular, in order to avoid the hiatus, I have transposed the word τότε, which is commonly placed after ἀπεσταλμένη.

14. ἐξεληλεγμένοι,] Attic perfect of ἐξελέγχομαι, and means *they had declared themselves*. It gives here the same sense as ἀποδεδειγμένοι, which some suppose to be the proper word.

20. Εὐρυβάτου] *Eurybates*. See Notes, p. 48, l. 3.

27. οὐδέν] Some manuscripts omit this first ἑδέν, but I think the repetition gives the expression greater force.

4. Φίλιππον] Better without the article τὸν, which some insert. 98

12. ἐξελύσατε] Some write also ἐξελύσασθε.

17. γὰρ] After this word comes τὴν εἰρήνην, which I have transposed and placed after ἔνεκα· for which last, some also write ἔνεκεν.

98 30. τὰς πρέσβεις] Demosthenes here, by the way, answers the reproaches of Æschines, who charged him with a base complaisance towards the ambassadors of Philip, in introducing them to the assembly and public shows. These reproaches may be seen, p. 28.

99 2. αὐτοῖς] Others place this word after ἀρχιτέκτονα· I have transposed it, both on account of the hiatus, and to render the sense more clear.

3. ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν] Idiomatic, instead of the genitive δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, for two oboli. They paid two oboli for a place at the spectacle; and these oboli were probably spent for repairing the seats. For the value of the obolus, see Notes, p. 10, l. 20.

10. Ἐκατομβαιῶνος] The month of September; so called because during this month they celebrated the festivals called Ἐκατόμβαι, as if we should say, *festivals of the great sacrifices*. For the word ἐκατόμβη, which literally means a sacrifice of a hundred oxen, means, in general, any great sacrifice, any solemn sacrifice.

13. πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,] instead of this, some place the words πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, after συνθήκας, I suppose because the same expression is found in l. 22; but with me, that should be a reason for not admitting it, in order to vary the expression.

24. Πρέσβεις, κ. τ. λ.] Æschines and Demosthenes seem to indicate in their harangues on the *False Embassy*, that the same citizens who had been upon the first embassy were upon the second, that in relation to oaths. But we see by the decree itself that the deputies of the second were not the same as those of the first, excepting Æschines. To reconcile the two orators with the decree, we must believe that associates were given to the deputies there mentioned, and that these were chosen from among the deputies of the first embassy. Æschines says positively that there were eleven deputies in the second, including that of the allies; and it is also certain that Demosthenes was of this embassy.

100 13. ὠμολόγησε] Some prefer ὠμοσε, and then, with Reiske, we are almost compelled by the sense to put ἐξεῖν in brackets,

as superfluous; but by leaving ὁμολόγησε, the word ἔξειν does 100 very well, and is indispensable. I do not see that the sense would gain much, however, by the change.

14. τούτους, οὐχι] Some insert τοὺς, which seems to me gratuitous and inelegant, τούτους τούς.

19. μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι,] The infinitive is here governed by, and depends upon, the two verbs; it means *that he is about to set out, and is making preparations for it*. The word μέλλει here means *is about to do*; a signification that always belongs to it when it is followed by an infinitive. But where it has no regimen, this verb means, *he defers, temporizes, protracts things, βραδύνει, ἀναβάλλεται, χρονίζει*. Demosthenes often employs μέλλει, in both senses.

21. τὸν πορθμὸν,] This word comes from πείρω, and means *passage*. There has been a great deal written about it; Wolfius says it means *a narrow sea, τὴν στενὴν θάλασσαν*. Taylor, who comes after him, thinks that it is applied to the strait that separates Eubœa from the continent, observing that *Porthmus* was also the name of a city, on a promontory of the island, (p. 112, l. 2.) But that could not be, since Philip could only conduct his army into Phocis by land, and the Athenians could only stop it by land, and consequently the reference can only be to the defile of Thermopylæ. It follows from this that the word πορθμὸς means *narrow passage, either by land or sea*; but more commonly used in the last sense.

11. ἔχηθ'] Some manuscripts have also ἄγηθ'. But if it is 101 only to vary the expression which is found l. 23, we ought to prefer ἔχηθ', the rather as this is as good, and now used in preference to the other. We say ἂν ἔχης ἡσυχίαν, *if you remain tranquil*.

17. ἀναληγσίας] *insensibility, stupidity*, synonymous with ἀναίσθησία, ἀπάθεια. The Thebans who had aspired, under Epaminondas, to the government of Greece, were not then ἀναίσθητοι, (p. 104, l. 10;) but by treating them thus harshly Demosthenes was sure of pleasing the Athenians.

20. μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς;] It is found also with the interrogation after μετὰ ταῦτα.

101 26. πρὸς Θηβαίους] Reiske, on some authority, puts πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους — γεγενῆσθαι.

29. Καλλισθένους] *Callisthenes*, a citizen of Athens, who engaged in the affairs of government.

102 2. συγκλήτου, κ. τ. λ.] *In an extraordinary assembly convoked by the generals.* In relation to the assemblies, see Notes, p. 3, l. 4. They elected ten generals at Athens, each year; each tribe chose one; and the elections were held in the *Pnyx*. They commanded a day each; and each general of the day held the office of generalissimo. The generals commanded the armies, and in the city were the ministers of war.

4. Μαιμακτηριῶνος] *The month of December.* We do not know exactly which of our months correspond to the Attic months. There is a great difference in the opinions of the most skilful chronologists upon the subject. I have adopted the opinion which seemed to me most probable. The month *Μαιμακτηριῶν*, however, derives its name from *Διὸς μαιμάκτου*, *Jupiter, the turbulent, or stormy*; because Jupiter frequently troubles the air, and stirs up tempests in December.

12. ἐπιτιμοίς,] is here used in a bad sense, and means *chastisement*. In other places it means *prize, reward*. (See also Notes, p. 188, l. 26.) As if we should say; *he shall be considered as guilty of treason, and shall receive the reward of it*; which reward would, in this case, naturally be nothing else than a punishment.

13. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων στρατηγός] *The general of the day.* There are various opinions as to whether there is any difference between *στρατηγός* by itself, and when joined with the epithet ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων · and probably originally there was none, as in our day we say indiscriminately *general* and *general of an army*. Samuel Petit conjectures ingeniously but without proving it by authority, that the first of these words is applied to all the ten generals, and the second to him who, in his turn, held the chief command. According to Taylor, *στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων*, might be *the commander of the heavy-armed infantry* (ὀπλίται), as distinguished from the commander of the cavalry. See the two decrees, p. 127, 128. This relative signification of ὀπλᾶ for ὀπλί-

ται, is found in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon and in Thucydides. 102
 The expression that follows, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, after which it is natural to understand στρατηγός, *the general who had the administration of the finances*, otherwise, *the treasurer*, leads me to think that each of the ten generals had a particular branch of the administration or command. And in order to reconcile the two opinions I have mentioned, we may believe, with probability, that it was exclusively reserved for the general of the day to command the heavy-armed troops. The word στρατηγός is also applied to civil magistrates, since στρατὸς, from which it is derived, does not always mean *an army*, but frequently *a multitude of men assembled*. In this sense it is used by Pindar, (Pyth. 11, 160,) χῶπόταν ὁ λάβρος στρατὸς, χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι. *And when the impetuous people, and when the most learned govern the state*. A thousand other examples prove this assertion.

25. ἐπιστολῆ] This *letter* of Philip, as well as all the others found in Demosthenes, has a cavalier, military air, indicating the superiority of the prince who wrote, and the weakness of the people to whom he wrote.

29. Βοιωτίᾳ,] *Bœotia* was the country and, as it were, the 103 province of which Thebes was the capital, as we have said in a preceding note. Æschines had possessed, or had acquired, lands in this country.

30. ἐξηγέμεν] *I have been asked*. See Prolegom. p. ἡ. l. 1.

1. μᾶλλον] It is written also μάλα ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν · but I 104 cannot think, with Reiske, that this is preferable. It is enough to observe that there is an hiatus caused by the two vowels following immediately after each other, μάλα ἴσως which does not take place in the other manner; and although this is of no great consequence, yet it ought to be avoided where it can be done, as is here the case.

7. ἑαυτοῦς] After this word ancient editions have τῶ Φιλίππῳ · I have preferred to conform to those who omit it.

19. Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς,] As to the first of these two nations, as it has retained its name to the present day, and forms one of the provinces belonging to Austria, we need only men-

104 tion that it is situated to the northwest of Macedonia. With regard to the second, the learned Auger says, *the Triballians, a nation of Mysia, a country of Asia Minor*, an opinion no wise founded upon historical evidence. The scholiast of Homer says, (Iliad, B'. 858, *Bolissian* edition,) "Οτι δὲ Μυσοὶ καὶ Εὐρωπαϊοὶ εἰσιν οἴγε καὶ πέραν Ἰστρου ἦσαν, δηλοῦται ἀλλαχοῦ · which shows us that there was another Mysia in Europe; and if the scholiast had said ἐντὸς Ἰστρου, *this side the Danube*, instead of πέραν, *beyond*, then according to what Thucydides says, Lib. II. 96; Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλῆς, καὶ τίτεις ἀντονόμεις, Τρηῆρες ὠρίζον καὶ Τιλαταῖοι οἰκῶσι δ' οὗτοι πρὸς Βορῆαν τοῦ Σκομίς ἕρους, καὶ παρήκουσι πρὸς ἡλῆς δύσιν μέχρι τῷ Ὀσκίου ποταμῷ · (which places them in what is now called *Bulgaria*,) it might be possible that they were of Mysia, but in Europe, and not in Asia Minor.

24. τότε πάντες,] The addition of τότε δὴ, before τότε πάντες, does not seem to me so elegant as it may appear to others; and therefore I have not imitated those who prefer it.

31. ἰδιωτῶν] Magistrates out of office are ἰδιῶται, but are not among the οἱ πολλοί.

105 12. ἀκούουσιν.] Some add εἰκότως after this word.

20. ἀποδομένων] It is written also ἀποδομένων, and does not mean *to deliver up*, but *to sell*. There is the same meaning in ἀνδραποδίζειν, *to sell a man*; which word explains ἀνδραποδον, of which the etymology remained for a long time unknown.

25. Λασθένης] *Lasthenes, Timolaus, Eudicus, Simus, Aristratus*, and *Perilaus*, all natives of different cities, devoted to the king of Macedonia, who gave up to him some part of Greece, but had no cause to congratulate themselves on their treason. This anecdote is related about Lasthenes: he had given up his country, Olynthus, to Philip; and being called a traitor even by the soldiers of the prince, the monarch said to him; *Pay no attention to what these rude men say, who call things by their real names.*

31. πᾶσα] For the sake of euphony I have placed this word after ἡ οἰκονόμενη, others having it before.

4. *τούτοις*] For the same reason I have put this word before, 106 whilst others have it after *ἀντιλέγων*.

12. *ἐωλοκρᾶσιαν*] This word is composed of *ἐὼς ὄλλυμι κρᾶσις*, and according to its etymology, it ought to signify *the extreme intemperance of the preceding evening*. He adds *ὡςπερ* and *τινᾶ*, as in some sort, because he employs the term figuratively; and the sense is: *Æschines has disgorged upon me the foul contents of his own villany and injustice, which it was necessary to refute before those who are too young to know well the facts*.

25. *ταῦτα*.] After this word some add also a second *οὐκ ἔστι*.

30. *μισθωτός*] *mercenary*. Demosthenes purposely placed the accent on the antepenult, instead of on the last syllable, knowing well the extreme delicacy of the Athenian ear, and feeling sure that his audience would correct him, and in so doing, pronounce the word in the proper manner. So it really happened, and the Athenians, to correct him, cried out with one voice *μισθωτός*. Demosthenes, delighted with the effect which he had produced, exclaimed, addressing Æschines; *Do you hear what they say?* There are many persons, however, who do not believe this anecdote, and pretend that the orator boldly risked the question, after having inflamed and exasperated the minds of his audience, by a most violent sally against the traitors, and thus disposed them to answer according to his wishes. Others say that the poet Menander, a friend of Demosthenes, and one of the judges, was the only one who repeated the cry of *mercenary*, and that Demosthenes used his words as if they had been the sentiments of the whole assembly. Others again relate, that after Demosthenes had thus called upon the judges, they began to confer and deliberate with each other, but that he, without waiting for their answer, did not hesitate to proceed, as if sure that it would be in his favor.

27. *Διονυσίοις*.] *The festivals in honor of Bacchus* were of 107 two sorts, the greater and the less. The former were among the most solemn of the Athenian festivals; they were celebrated within the city, towards spring, and were called *Διονύσια*: the latter were celebrated in the open country, in autumn, and had the name of *Ἀήνια*.

107 28. τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ.] understood ἐπιδείξει, or ἀγωνία, or εἰσόδα εἰς τὴν σκηνήν, or εἰσαγωγή. The tragic poets, some time before the great festivals in honor of Bacchus, brought forward the new pieces which they had written, as candidates for the prize. Judges were appointed by the state, to determine their respective merit. The pieces were acted before them, and even in the presence of the people, but apparently without much pomp. The judges gave in their votes, and the piece which obtained the plurality of them was declared victorious, was crowned as such, and represented with great splendor at the public expense. Those which were second and third in rank were also represented during the festival, and were called *the new tragedies*.

31. Κλήτορες,] a sort of *sheriffs* who summoned the accused before the court. The accuser wrote his charge in the following form : κατηγορῶ τοῦδε, καὶ προσκαλοῦμαι τοῦτον διὰ τῷ δέϊνος εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον. (See Notes, p. 139, l. 15.)

108 24. Ὁ γὰρ διώκων, κ. τ. λ.] As it is very unpleasant to be obliged to sound one's own praises, Demosthenes, who here speaks at length of the services he has rendered to the state, uses great circumspection and moderation in so doing. He declares to his audience, that he does it with regret, and that all the odium of the thing ought to fall upon Æschines, who forces him to be his own panegyrist.

109 9. φορὰν] from φέρω, and signifies *abundance, affluence, increase*.

26. Δολόπων] The *Dolopians* are called by some authors a tribe from Thessaly; others assert them to have inhabited Ætolia, and others, Epirus. They were present at the siege of Troy, as followers of Achilles, or Phœnix, or Pyrrhus, for this is also an unsettled point.

111 1. τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἔκκε.] Philip lost his right eye by a wound from an arrow at the siege of Methone; in a battle fought with the Triballians, he was wounded in the thigh, and had a horse killed under him. He was probably wounded on other occasions, though the fact is not particularly mentioned by historians.

11. καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι] *both in public speeches and in* 111
theatrical representations, or rather, at the tribunal, and at the
theatre.

28. Διοπίθου] *Diopithes*, a minister and general of the Athenians, father of the comic poet Menander, the model of Terence. As respects *Eubulus*, see p. 96, l. 26, and *Aristophon*, p. 67, l. 20.

3. Φιλιστίδην — Κλείταρχον,] *Philistides* and *Clitarchus*, 112
two ambitious and evil-minded citizens, each of whom enslaved his country to further the views of Philip.

11. Μυσῶν λείων] *The prey of the Mysians*, that is, the prey of the weakest nations, who were themselves pillaged by all others. This proverb arose from the circumstance, that the Mysians, during the absence of their king Telephus, were so weak and defenceless as to be insulted and pillaged with impunity by all their neighbours; hence to express the lowest degree of weakness and of degradation, a nation was said to be the prey even of the Mysians, who were themselves the prey of all others.

13. ὀρώωντων,] Reiske supports the reading καὶ ὄντων, and gives his reasons in a note. I agree with Taylor in preserving ὀρώωντων, but am induced to omit the καὶ, being of opinion that some transcriber has written καὶ ὄντων instead of ὀρώωντων, either through inattention, or because, the initial letters being erased, he wrote from conjecture. The omission of καὶ also gives more force to the language the orator employs. This expression is thus used by Homer, *Iliad*, A. 88.

Οὔτις, ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δευρομένοιο.

28. Βοηδρομιῶνος,] *The month of November*. It was so named from the festivals celebrated during this month, and called *Βοηδρομία*, that is, *of ready assistance*. The occasion of their institution was that Ion, son of Xuthus, had come in great haste to the assistance of the Athenians, when hard pressed by Eumolpus, son of Neptune. The name of the festival is taken from βοή, *cry*, and δρέμω, *I run*, whence is formed βοηδρομέω, *I run at the cry, I fly to the assistance*. It was also during the month *Boëdromion*, that Theseus defeated the Amazons who besieged Athens.

- 113 25. βουλῆς γνώμη,] *By the opinion of the senate.* If any manuscripts had γνώμη in the nominative, Taylor would have thought these two words transposed, and that they should be written instead of ψήφισμα, in the twenty-third line. This learned critic is led to form this opinion from the circumstance that an affair discussed in the Senate was called βουλῆς γνώμη, and not ψήφισμα. He is right, if the affair is discussed for the first time in the Senate; for in that case only a βούλευμα, or rather προβούλευμα, *preparatory decree* was given. But here, as the context shows us, the act in question has passed from the Senate to the people, and by the people has again been referred to the Senate. Such an act ought, as I should think, to be called ψήφισμα, for it has the sanction of both Senate and people; δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, (see p. 99, l. 15.) We should therefore retain ψήφισμα, and also read γνώμη. The affair is an important one. The Senate, desiring it should be discussed with great solemnity, had determined that not only the Prytanes, but also the generals should express to the wishes of the people; πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ — ἀνενεγκόντες, with εἰς βουλήν understood. We have elsewhere remarked with regard to the generals, that when they were not with the army, they acted as ministers or civil magistrates at Athens.
- 114 16. Λαομέδων.] It is found thus written in every edition; but from what we see, p. 113, l. 1., it must be a mistake, and should be written Λεωδάμας, a correction I should not scruple to make in a second impression.
- 116 5. παρὰ σοὶ κατέλνον,] *They lodged at your house.* This signification of the verb is retained in this expression, very common among us, πᾶς ἔχετε τὸ κατάλυμά σας; *where do you lodge?*
14. Ἀριστονίκου] There were two persons of the name of Aristonicus, one of Marathon, and the other of the borough Phrearre, or according to Plutarch, of Anagyrus. It is the latter who is here alluded to, the same who decreed a golden crown to Demomeles. We see (p. 163, l. 20,) that Demomeles and Hyperides, before him, had caused a decree to be passed in favor of the same Demosthenes, awarding to him a golden crown, to be proclaimed at the theatre.

21. Γαμηλιῶνος] *The month of March.* It was so called 116 because it was the month during which were celebrated the festivals of Juno, called Γαμήλια, as if they would say *marriage festivals*, from γάμος, *marriage*. For Juno was the tutelar goddess in marriage and its consequences.

6. ἀγωνοθέτην.] See Notes, p. 62, l. 27. 117

5. ἂν ἐπερωτήσω.] Better than the common reading ἐκέτ' ἐρω- 118
τήσω.

25. Βοσπορίχῳ,] *Bosporichus* is the proper name of the pontiff, but it is, notwithstanding, a compound word. The whole decree is in the Doric dialect of the Byzantines, and the name of the pontiff was placed at the head of all decrees, as was that of the Archon at Athens.

26. τῆ ἀλία] This word has given a great deal of trouble to learned critics, because in the manuscripts it is found written τεαλία. Some have thought it the name of a place; others have joined it to the ἐν, and have made a proper name of it, as if it was *Damagetus, son of Entealias*. Neither of these conjectures appears correct, and the word can mean nothing else but *assembly*, in the sense in which Herodotus uses it, ἀλίην ἐποίησαντο, *they formed an assembly*. Those who refrain strictly from touching the text, are satisfied with supposing that τε was a peculiarity of the dialect of the Byzantines, who employed it where τῆ was commonly used by other Dorians; but in this case I prefer the supposition that they said τῆ or perhaps ταῖ ἀλιαί, with the ι not subscribed, and as there was no difference in pronunciation between αι and ε the mistake might easily be made in writing from dictation, as is frequently the case.

30. χάριτας] It is commonly written χρείας.

8. ἐπιγαμίαν,] This word signifies *the reciprocal right* which 119 persons of different nations have *to unite in marriage*, a right which was generally provided for by a particular article in treaties of alliance. The word πολιτεία, which follows, is synonymous with what we call at present πολιτογραφία, and signifies *right of citizenship*.

119 8. *κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν,*] In most editions and manuscripts this passage is written *ἐκ τᾶς γᾶς, καὶ οἰκίαν προ.*, which is evidently a corruption of the original text. It has been corrected by being written *ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, the right of owning lands and houses.* For my own part I prefer *κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν,* and thus the correction is, in the first place, nearer to the text, which ought always to be adopted when the sense will allow it; and, in the second place, when the rights of citizenship and of owning lands were granted to the Athenians, it would naturally follow that they possessed the right of owning houses, a right inseparable from the others. If we leave *οἰκίαν* without correction, as an adjective agreeing with *προεδρίαν*, it makes very poor sense. I prefer, therefore, *οἰκίαν*, and the correction consists merely in the diphthong, which might be a mistake in writing, since *ει* and *ι* are pronounced in exactly the same manner. The sense of the passage is, then, as follows; the Athenians were allowed *the right of possessing lands, and the right of domicile*; that is, every Athenian who came to Byzantium, had a right to be accommodated with a lodging at the public expense, and thus it was truly a privilege which was granted to them. In this way, the sense appears to me perfectly clear and natural.

9. *πόθοδον*] Doric for *πρόσοδον*, and signifies *access, admission, right of entrance.*

10. *παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ ἱερά·*] *near those who have the care of sacred things,* which I prefer to the Doric *πρώτοις*, for *πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά.*

12. *πᾶσαν προσέτι λειτουργίαν·*] *And those of the Athenians who wished to dwell in the city, to be, moreover, free from all taxes of every kind.* I have thus corrected *προσέτι*, instead of the common *πρὸς τὰν*, which is even entirely omitted by some editors, and which Reiske corrects by writing *πασᾶν προστακτῶν λειτουργιῶν.*

13. *ἐκκαιδεκαπήχεις*] *to erect three statues of sixteen cubits.* We ought not to be surprised at the height of these statues, since it is well known that the ancients, to show their gratitude to their benefactors, frequently erected colossal statues in honor of them. We will merely mention the famous statue of the Sun,

known under the name of the Colossus of Rhodes, which was of such a prodigious size that vessels could pass with full sails, between its legs; and the statue of Olympian Jupiter, the masterpiece of Phidias which was so large that the god who was represented in a sitting posture could not have stood erect under the roof of the temple.

16. *θεωρίας*] In one of the oldest editions which I have before me, that of *John Hervage, Basle, 1532*, I find *δωρίας*, which does not make sense, but is evidently a corruption of *θεωρίας*, in the manuscripts. It has been also written by some *δωρεάς*, and by others *Δωριεύσι*, which alteration does not much improve it. We are indebted to Reiske for this very fortunate correction *θεωρίας, deputations to assist at the games.*

17. *Ἰσθμια, κ. τ. λ.*] The *Isthmian games*, were celebrated every four years at the isthmus of Corinth, in honor of Neptune. They were restored by Theseus, and continued even after the ruin of Corinth. The *Nemean games*, which derived their name from Nemea, a town and forest of Peloponnesus, and which were instituted or renewed by Hercules after he had slain the Nemean lion, were celebrated every two years near the scene of his victory. The *Olympic games* were thus named from Olympia, also called Pisa, near which they took place every four years, in honor of Olympian Jupiter, and were the most remarkable. They were instituted by Hercules, and every one knows that from them the Greeks dated historical events. The *Pythian games* were sacred to Apollo, surnamed Pythian on account of the serpent Python which he had slain, and were celebrated every four years, near the famous temple of Delphi.

18. *τῶ στεφάνῳ ᾧ συστεφάνωται*] Reiske here makes the correction *τῶς στεφάνῳς, ᾧς ἐστεφάνωται*, in the accusative plural; for otherwise the text, being left, as it is commonly, in the dative singular *τῷ στεφάνῳ, ᾧ συστεφ.*, is extremely obscure. But we must recollect that two nations were here spoken of, the Byzantines and the Perinthians, and two crowns which they granted; thus neither the singular nor the plural would be employed, but the dual, as I have put it, and the whole difficulty arises from a mere mistake in the orthography. As to the word *συστεφάνωται*,

119 I have not been willing even to alter it, because the preposition *σύν* relates to the two nations which joined in crowning the Athenian people; and to the objection that it should be *συνεσεφάνωται*, it is enough to answer, that the past tenses are frequently found among the poets without the augment, and this omission, with that of the *ν* of the preposition, is very common in Modern Greek, which preserves a great part of, or rather which is formed from, the Æolico-Doric dialect.

29. *πράττων γέγονε*] I have made the correction *πράττων*, instead of the infinitive *πράττειν*, which renders the passage very obscure. I here consider the word *γέγονε*, as having the same sense as *διετέλεσε*, which, joined to the participle, is an idiomatic expression for *ἔπραξε*, and the sense thus becomes perfectly clear and simple. To avoid the difficulty, Reiske has made a very ingenious correction, but it is not so near to the text; as some manuscripts have *πράττειν αἴτιος*, he has thence inferred *παραίτιος*, writing also *μεγίξε*, instead of *μέγισον*.

30. *ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου*,] *χειρὸς*, or *δυναστείας*, is understood.

121 3. *Ἰμεῖς, κ. τ. λ.*] The Peloponnesian war was ended. The victorious Lacedæmonians had become masters of Athens, had ruined its walls, destroyed its vessels, and established in it a government of thirty tyrants. All powerful in Greece, they had just sent against the monarch of Persia, Agesilaus, who made him tremble in his palace. One of the governors of Artaxerxes in Asia found means to detach from their party Thebes, Argos, and Corinth. The Thebans sent ambassadors to the Athenians to ask their assistance and participation in the league; and they, though but just delivered from their tyrants, and in spite of their own weakness and the power of their rival, took up arms and marched first to Haliartus, a town of Bœotia, and then to Corinth, near which the Lacedæmonians had a considerable number of troops, under excellent generals. All this the Athenians did, although they had good reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Thebans and Corinthians towards them, in the Peloponnesian war.

12. *Δεκελειὸν πόλεμον*] The *Decelias war*. Decelia was a borough of Attica. The Lacedæmonians obtained possession

of it in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war; they fortified it, and, by means of that advantageous situation, were enabled to do great injury to the Athenians, as long as hostilities lasted. The latter part of the war was therefore called the Decelian war, and the fort became so famous that this name was sometimes given to the whole Peloponnesian war which arose between Athens and Lacedæmon. The hostilities of the Corcyræans against Corinth for their reciprocal pretensions to Epidamnus were the occasion and the pretext, but the alarming and oppressive power of Athens was the true cause of it. All the nations of Greece were drawn into it, some taking one side and some the other. It lasted twenty-seven years, and was called the *Peloponnesian war*, because the Lacedæmonians who took the principal part in it, inhabited that division of Greece which bore the name of Peloponnesus.

20. οἰκίσκῳ] *small house*, and also *bird-cage*, a signification which here renders the sense more forcible.

25. οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους] An accusative, to be construed with ἀνελεῖν. The Thebans, with Epaminondas at their head, had gained a victory over the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, and had thus given a severe blow to their power. Under the command of the same general they had invaded and laid waste Laconia, and had caused Sparta itself to tremble for its safety. The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy who became every day more bold and enterprising, had recourse to the Athenians, to whom they sent ambassadors to implore assistance. The Athenians, on the other hand, had not forgotten the ill treatment they had experienced from Sparta on more than one occasion, yet they resolved to succour their former rivals with their whole strength.

1. ἐκ τούτων ἐδείξατε,] I have transposed these words, which, 122 in other editions, are found in an inverse order; and for a very evident reason, that it suits the ear better, a reason which has often influenced me where I have not mentioned it in the notes, as being of little consequence.

7. πάλιν σφ. Θηβ. τὴν Εὐβοίαν,] *The Thebans in their turn appropriating to themselves Eubœa.* He says *in their turn*,

122 because Eubœa had been coveted by Philip (see p. 111, l. 31,) by Athens, and by Thebes. The island was first divided by two factions, of which one asked the assistance of the Thebans, and the other that of the Athenians. The former triumphed at first, but on the arrival of the Athenians the face of affairs was changed. They repelled the Thebans, drove them from Eubœa, restored tranquillity to the island, and were willing to receive in recompense nothing but the glory of having conquered it, and given it peace. They had, however, much reason to complain of Themison, tyrant of Eretria, who, in concert with Theodorus, had taken from them Oropus in time of peace.

123 15. τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν παρ.] Better than the common τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, or with the preposition εἰς.

17. τὸ πέμπτον μέρος] It was necessary that the accuser should have at least a fifth part of the votes; otherwise, he was condemned to pay a fine, more or less heavy, or was subject to some severer punishment.

18. τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν.] The number of those who were to contribute to equip the galleys, amounted to twelve hundred men. They were divided into twenty classes, called συμμοριαί, each of sixty men; and each class was subdivided into five parts, each of twelve men. The richest person of each class was called ἡγεμῶν, the *chief*, and the others followed in the order of their wealth. Demosthenes, therefore, says that there is nothing which those who, as the richest, held the first, the second, or the third rank, in these classes, would not have given him to suppress the law he had proposed, since it was made to bear upon the rich, and to alleviate the burdens of the poor.

21. ὑπωμοσία;] This word signifies, *a delay in the decision of a question, obtained by one of the parties, under pretence of illness, of a necessary journey, &c. with an oath that he would be present at the judgment of the case.* To ask for a delay under any one of these pretences, and to bind one's self by such an oath was called ὑπόμνησθαι.

124 28. τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ] *Three vessels and a boat.* The word ὑπηρετικόν, comes from ὑπὸ, *under*, and ἐρέτω, *I row*; that is to say, *a vessel which is rowed below another*, whence

the word *ὑπηρέτης* has also come to signify *servant*. These 124
 same small vessels had also several other names, *σκάφαι, λίβυ-
 ραι, κέλητες, ἀκάτια, γαῦλοι, λέμβοι, κάραβοι*: from the last of
 which is derived the modern word *καράβι, vessel*, in general.
 They were also called *ἐφόλκια*, from the verb *ἔλω, I drag*,
 for they were fastened by cables to the larger vessels which
 thus drew them in tow.

2. *ἐθέλειν*,] This word is by many critics rejected as redun- 125
 dant, and in truth it appears so by the obscurity which it pro-
 duces when placed after *ποιεῖν*, as it commonly is; but as I
 have transposed it, it is neither redundant nor obscure, for the
 sense is: *Do you think it is little, that the rich would be willing
 to spend, in order to escape doing what is just?*

9. *ὃς ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο*,] *No one has seated himself at
 Munychium*, that is, *no one has taken refuge as a suppliant in
 the temple of Diana at Munychium*. This was a port of Attica,
 where was a celebrated temple consecrated to this goddess,
 which was an asylum to all those prosecuted for debt. The ora-
 tor says *seated himself*, because that was the posture of the
 suppliants.

10. *ἀποστολέων*] The Athenians gave the name of *ἀποστολεῖς*
 to the officers who took charge of the naval forces, and held
 them in readiness for a sudden expedition. The word might
 perhaps now be translated *commissioners of the navy depart-
 ment*.

22. *ἀρχόντων*] See the note on *ἀρχοντος*, p. 201.

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9. *Ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' ὅτως ἔχει, καὶ*] I have made this transposition, 127
 preferring it to the common reading *ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχει, καὶ*.
 Some manuscripts omit the two last words, and Reiske encloses
 them between brackets.

12. *Ναυσικλῆς, κ. τ. λ.*] *Nausicles* and *Diotimus*, Athenian
 generals, who are known only by what Demosthenes says of
 them. Æschines in his speech mentions a Charidemus; he
 may be the same as the one here alluded to (see p. 28, l. 17,
 and the note.) Demosthenes, in his oration on the *False Em-
 bassy*, speaks of *Neoptolemus*, a famous comedian, employed
 on public business. The one here mentioned cannot be the

127 same, for in his oration on the *Peace*, he expressly declares that Neoptolemus the comedian had gone with all his fortune to Macedonia.

20. μοι] This word appears to me better when placed before τὰ ψηφίσματα, than after it, as it commonly is.

30. Φιάλωνος,] This *Phialon* is known to us only by this passage of the decree.

128 8. ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ π. μ.] *In the battle near the river.* We do not know what battle nor what river is here alluded to; it may be, however, some river near *Salamis*, a town of Cyprus where the Athenians made this expedition, of which we have no account. Possibly, notwithstanding many objections may be made, it refers to what Thucydides relates, Lib. I. 112, πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ, Φοίνιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐνανμάχησαν καὶ ἐπέζομάχησαν.

21. ὑπέθνυος] This word is commonly placed after ἐπέδωκα, but I have preferred to transpose it thus.

24. οἱ λογισταί,] See Notes, p. 7. l. 30.

31. Πνανεπιῶνος] *The month of January.* So called because during this month were celebrated the festivals of Apollo, called Πνανεψία, from πύανα, *beans*, and ξψειν, *to boil*, as if we should say, *festival of boiled beans*, for these were the offering made to the god. As I have already given a short account of the Attic months, which are all mentioned in these speeches except that of Ποσειδεῶν, I shall take this opportunity of saying that this corresponds to our *February*, and is so called because it was sacred to *Neptune*, whose name in Greek, is Ποσειδῶν.

129 8. θεωρικοῖς] understood χρήμασιν, *the money for the theatres*, or *the funds for the poor*, to enable them to attend at the theatres. (See p. 99, l. 3, and p. 107, l. 26.) Wolfius, however, supposes it to be masculine, and to signify *those who receive theatre money*, that is, *the poor*.

130 13. ἀναγορεύεσθαι;] I have followed my own judgment in preferring the infinitive with the interrogation, instead of the common ἀναγορευέτω, with the interrogation after στεφανοῖ, which is also written στεφανώσεται.

15. ἐλλεβορίζεις] *to have recourse to hellebore*, a plant employed as a remedy for a disordered brain. Anticyra, an island in the Propontis, owed its celebrity to the quantity of hellebore which it produced.

16. ἀδικήματος οὐδενός,] Reiske adds λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. Gail, thinking that he is not authorized to make this addition, says it would be better to understand ὄντος, with ἀδικήματος, and to regard these two words as a genitive absolute. I see no reason why we should not construe ἀδικήματος ἕδενός with δίκη, and say δίκην ἀδικήματος, as well as δίκην φθόνου, δίκην βλάβης, δίκην κλοπῆς.

20. τῷ δημοτικῷ,] See p. 58, paragraph Οἶμαι, κ. τ. λ.

25. ὡςπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης,] *As if from the wagon*; a proverbial expression signifying, *you say indiscriminately whatever comes into your head*. There are several opinions as to the origin of this expression, but it is very probably derived from the ancient comedies, which carried freedom of speech to such a degree as to attack not only the most respectable men, but the gods themselves; as the actors, with a wagon for their stage, insulted all those who passed, the proverb might naturally be taken from this custom.

27. λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας] *Invective is very different from accusation*. Demosthenes here points out the different circumstances which characterize each of them. Cicero, who followed the Greek orator as his model, thus expresses himself in a similar case, in his speech *Pro M. Calio*. “*Invective is one thing, accusation another. Accusation must have some crime for its object; it requires that we should well establish the state of the question, that we should designate in an unequivocal manner the person accused; that we should prove by reasons, and confirm by witnesses. But invective has for its sole object to wound the feelings. If it is violent, it is called outrage; if it is gay and witty, it is called pleasantry.*”

3. ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων,] *From your private occupations*. The sense is better than that which is furnished by the reading ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν.

131 15. προθεσμίᾳ,] *an appointed day*. When the judges gave their sentence on private disputes, they appointed a day on which it was to be carried into execution, and which was called προθεσμία, or τακτῆ, or νορία, the word ἡμέρα being understood. The careless pleaders who suffered that day to pass without conforming to their duty, were called ὑπερήμεροι τῆς προθεσμίας* as if we should say *bad pay-masters, who are in arrears, who wait too long before paying*. Sometimes the party which gained the cause, gave up something of its rights, granted a delay, and prolonged by favor the prescribed term. This was called ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὑπερημερίαν. On the contrary ὑπερημερίαν πράξει, ὑπερημερίαν εἰσπράττειν, was to exact payment without mercy at the appointed time. There were great penalties against debtors who remained long in arrears. The scholiast on Aristophanes asserts that they were condemned to pay four times the amount of the debt. He adds that if they did not pay in money, they paid in flesh and bones, as it depended upon their creditors to keep them in prison and in irons. Thence it became common among the Greeks to call prisoners for debt ἐγκαλοσκελεῖς, *fettered, or bound*.

29. Αἰακός, κ. τ. λ.] *For if the accusers were Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos*. These three kings were so famous for their justice and integrity during their lives, that mythology has made them the judges of the lower regions, after death. Æacus judged the Europeans, Rhadamanthus the Asiatics, and Minos discussed doubtful points with them, and decided as president. Ῥαδαμάνθου κρισις, *a sentence of Rhadamanthus*, became a proverb to signify the *uncorrupt justice of a sentence*.

30. σπερμ., περιτ. ἄγ.,] The first of these words has not here the same signification as it has in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 579, according to its etymology from σπέρμα, *seed*, and λέγω, *I collect*. It has rather the sense of σπειρων λόγους, *a sower of words*, and means here a *babbler*. The second expression περιτριμμά ἀγορᾶς, signifies *broken to the tricks of the bar, or one who has passed his life in learning all the arts of chicane*, τετριμμένος περιτὴν ἀγορᾶν. It is in this sense that Aristophanes in his *Clouds*, 446, employs περιτριμμά δικῶν.

7. διάγνωσις τῶν τοιούτων;] I have thus corrected, instead of 132 the common reading ἢ μὴ τοιούτων, τίς διάγνωσις; or, as others have it, ἢ καλῶν, ἢ μὴ τοιούτων, κτλ.

18. χοίνικας παχείας] *large chains*. Εἰπὼν δουλεύειν αὐτὸν, τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς φαύλοις τῶν δούλων ἐπήγαγε, τὰς πέδας λέγων· τοῦτο γὰρ καλεῖ χοίνικας, τὸ στορογγύλον δηλῶν.

19. ξύλον;] *wooden stocks*, in which the feet of the slaves were put, to prevent them from running away.

20. ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ, κ. τ. λ.] *In the house of ill-fame situated near the hero Calamites*, that is, *near the chapel of the hero Calamites*; since we very frequently say at the present day ἡμεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον, meaning, *I have been at St. George's Church, &c.* Thus there is no need of correcting the text as some critics propose ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἡρώῳ. Nothing is known about this hero Calamites.

22. ἐξέθρηψε σε;] Some critics add after this word: ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω.

29. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ὣν ἔτυχεν, ἦν,] Some translators thus interpret this passage: *for he was not one of those among whom fortune has since placed him*. Although this is the literal sense, and the Ὅψε γὰρ, which follows, appears somewhat to favor this interpretation, I agree with those who give it the sense of οὐ τῶν τυχόντων ἦν· as we still say at the present day, δὲν ἦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντας, *he was no ordinary man*, ironically here employed; and this figure of rhetoric is called, παρ' ὑπόνοιαν, saying something very different from what the audience expect.

30. χθές — καὶ πρόην,] *Of yesterday and the day before*. A sort of proverbial expression to signify something very recent, something of very late date, and very frequently employed by some authors, as well as νῦν καὶ χθές, in the same sense.

3. Ἐμποῦσαν] A spectre said to take all forms, which the 133 people believed in and were foolishly afraid of. It was in former times what the βρυσκόλακκος, *vampire*, is now in Greece.

14. ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἄντ.] The word ἀποψηφίζεσθαι, which commonly means *to be acquitted*, in a census of the citizens, which was called διαψήφισις, signifies *to be rejected from the list*, and is nearly synonymous with the word ἀποδοκιμάζεσθαι.

133 As to *Antiphon*, it appears that, while the census was making as usual, he had artfully contrived to have his name written down. This interpolation being discovered, his name was crossed out, and he was rejected. His mortification was so great that he went over to Philip, to whom he had promised that he would burn all the navy-yards of Attica.

21. ἄνευ ψηφίσματος,] The opinions of critics are divided as to whether these two words relate to ἀφεθῆναι, or to ἐπὶ οἰκίας βυδίζων. As for me, I should prefer to make it relate to the latter.

22. Ἀρείου πάγου] See Notes, p. 9. l. 11.

26. διαδύς,] This ingenious expression would properly be used of an animal which burrows in the earth, and in general, of any one who as it were, sinks into the earth, to avoid pursuit.

31. σύνδικον, κ. τ. λ.] *Orator of the republic* (before the Amphictyons) *to defend your rights in the temple of Delos.* The word σύνδικος signified in general an orator who with an associate undertook to defend the same cause. It was said of the one who spoke first and opened the debate, that he πρωτολογεῖ, and this sort of precedence was called πρωτολογία. It was said of the second, that he δευτερολογεῖ, and this subordinate part was called δευτερολογία. The word σύνδικος had also a more peculiar meaning; for it was used of an orator chosen and deputed to support the prerogatives of a town or of a whole nation, and to be the defender of the law of nations. Thus we read in Plutarch that the Athenians elected Aristides for their syndic, and charged him to plead, in the name of their citizens, the cause of all Greece. Demosthenes tells us in his speech *against Leptinus* that there was a law expressly forbidding that the same person should be twice chosen syndic, lest this office which was first instituted for the public utility, should insensibly be turned to the advantage of individuals. The moderns have borrowed from the ancients the term *syndic*, but in another sense, meaning one elected to superintend the affairs of a community, or of a body of which he is a member; thus the four syndics in the government of Geneva, are, to a

certain extent, what the President is in the United States, 133
or rather what the Governor is in each state of the Union.

4. Ἰπεριδην — προσέταξε.] Some editors write the dative; the 134
accusative, however, is entirely in conformity with the modern
dialect. *Hyperides* was one of the ten celebrated Athenian ora-
tors. He was remarkable for the softness and delicacy of his
style; he was always an opposer of Alexander (see Proleg. p. ἡ.)
Antipater, one of Alexander's successors, obliged the Atheni-
ans to banish him from their city, pursued him in exile, and
finally caused his death.

5. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ — τὴν ψῆφον] *And that, when each one had
taken from the altar the sign of his vote; that is, the ball or
mark which they used to declare their votes. They took them
from the altar only in questions concerning religion.*

10. ὑπὲρ πάντων] *In the name of, in the place of all (the
Areopagites).*

21. ὁμοίον γε (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς] *similar (is it not?) to the
things of which he accuses me. The expression is ironical.
The οὐ γάρ; has the sense of οὐκ ἄρα, and ὁμοιον οἷς is equiva-
lent to ὁμοιον τούτοις ἃ ἐμί.*

23. Πύθωνα] *Python of Byzantium, a great orator, had
obtained the rights of citizenship at Athens, and had after-
wards embraced the part of Philip. He had a lively and per-
suasive eloquence, which it was difficult to resist. He was of
great service to Philip on several occasions, but he found in
Demosthenes a man fully able to answer him, and who soon
could call back the minds of the audience which he had led
away.*

20. πολλά γ' ἐγώ] I have added the γ' instead of ἄν which 135
some write, while others omit it altogether.

23. παρ' ὑμῖν] Taylor proposes παρ' ὑμῶν, but the dative
appears to me preferable.

1. φανερώς] This word is by some editors construed with 136
πολεμεῖν, and then the place of the comma is changed; by
others with συναγωνίζεσθαι, whom I have followed in my text.

6. ἄνθρωπος.] Markland prefers ὁ ἄνθρωπος. It does not
appear to me, however, that the want of the article in that

136 case renders the phrase defective. He says *a man* (Philip), without saying definitely *the man*. It is as if we were to say *a march was made upon Attica*, in an indefinite manner, and the hearers, who were well acquainted with the affairs of the time, knew very well what was meant. There is a parallel case in the third Olynthiac, where we find this passage : οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν τὰ χωρία προείληφεν ἄνθρωπος.

9. ἰαμβειογράφος] I should translate this word, *defamer*, and for this reason ; the Greek word literally means *an author of Iambic verses*, or *an author of satires*, for the Iambic measure was formerly employed in sarcastic and libellous pieces, either because it was better adapted than any other to works of this sort, or because it was brought into fashion by Archilochus, who had so much skill and point in his satires, that those whom he attacked became furious, and hung themselves in rage and despair. Æschines is not known to have been an author of Iambics or of satires, but as they were used to throw ridicule upon people and to defame them, it is very probable that this word was employed to designate a calumniator, who seeks to attack by sarcasm the honor of others. There are some critics, however, who think it must be ἰαμβοφάγος, *eater of Iambics*, ὅτι τὰ ἰαμβεῖα τῆς τραγωδίας ἔλεγεν, ὑποκριτῆς ὄν. Taylor.

12. ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι.] *Let him show it at the expense of my water*, that is *while the water which limits the time of my speech is flowing*. To understand this expression we must call to mind that every orator was limited as to the time of his speech, by a water clock called κλεψύδρα, that is, *a machine whence water flows by stealth*, because at the bottom of the vessel there was a small hole, through which the water fell slowly. The word is composed of κλέπτω, *I steal*, and ὕδωρ, *water*. Reiske prefers ἐν τῷ ἐμ. ὕδ. I do not agree with him, and ἐπὶ here appears to me far better.

31. πατρῷος] *Paternal Apollo*, or *Apollo to whom the republic owes its origin*. The Athenians honored Jupiter and Apollo under the particular title of θεοὶ πατρῷοι. The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, v. 1458, gives this reason. The Athenians called Jupiter πατρῷος, because after having been

brought up in Arcadia, or as others say, in Crete, he came 136 and settled in Athens. *They gave the same name to Apollo, because he married Creusa, daughter of king Erechtheus, who bore him a son, Ion.* Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὅτι Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρα ἔγημε τὴν Κρέουσαν, ἐξ ἧς γίνεται ὁ Ἴων. Meursius thinks that this part of the passage is a corruption, and that we ought to restore the word *Ξοῦθος*, which has been omitted by the carelessness of some transcriber, and thus read ὅτε Ξοῦθος Ἐρεχθέως, κ. τ. λ. What induces Meursius to make this correction is, that a number of ancient witnesses prove that it was Xuthus and not Apollo, who was the husband of Creusa, and the father of Ion. Apollodorus, among others, after saying that Erechtheus had three daughters, tells us in express terms who their husbands were. *Χθονίαν μὲν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσαν δὲ Ξοῦθος, Πρόκριν δὲ Κέφαλος, Butes married Chthonia; Xuthus Creusa; and Cephalus, Procris.* In fact, the scholiast whom we have mentioned, positively asserts a little while after, that Jupiter and Apollo were called *πατροῦσι*, because the Athenians were the first to receive them, and to honor them by sacrifices. Οὕτω τιμᾶται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ζεὺς πατροῦσι καὶ Ἀπόλλων, διὰ τὸ πρώτους ὑποδέξασθαι τὰ θεῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, καὶ θυσίας συντελέσαι κατὰ φρήτρας, καὶ δήμους, καὶ συγγενείας, μόνους Ἑλλήνων. Thus, independently of historical proofs, this second passage of the scholiast would be enough to show that the first needs correction. It may be observed that the Athenians had not only *paternal* deities, if we may so call them, but *maternal* also, that is, those from whom they thought they descended through a female line. This is evident from this passage of Xenophon, *Πρὸς Θεῶν πατροῦσιν, καὶ μητροῦσιν, — παύσασθε ἁμαρτιάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.* (Hist. Græc. Lib. II. c. 4.)

17. ὅς] Reiske prefers ὁ καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 137
 πράγματα.

18. ὁ συγκατασκευάσας,] This signifies *one who, by his intrigues and secret machinations concerted with Philip, has excited war.* The same expression is used l. 27; see also p. 142, l. 11, συμπαρασκευάσας.

137 21. ἄγεις,] Reiske prefers εἰςάγεις. But besides the pleonasm which I find in the preposition εἰς τὴν Ἰα. εἰςάγεις, a similar expression found in the modern Greek with the synonymous verb φέρω, (as we say ἔφερε τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Γαλλίαν, *he has brought war into France*,) makes me prefer the other reading, which has also the authority of the oldest editions.

22. οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθ.] *Those who, at his own invitation, were seated near him; those who had been brought forward to assist him, and who were seated near him.*

24. κενὴν αἰτίαν] *vain, futile, or groundless accusation.*

30. ἰστορίαν] In one manuscript it is written σωτηρίαν.

31. θεάσασθε.] Some editors write θεάσεσθε, on account of the preceding ὄψεσθε, ὠφελήσεσθε.

138 18. τὰ μὲν —, τὰ δὲ] for τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δὲ, *to deceive some, to persuade others.*

20. περὶ τὴν Ἰνλ. ταραχὴν.] Gail says ἡ Ἰνλαία ταραχὴ, *disturbance in the assembly at Thermopylae*, and afterwards adds, that ἡ Ἰνλαία alone, an adjective used elliptically as a substantive, signifies also *the assembly of the Amphictyons at Thermopylae*, (p. 140, l. 26.) By this it appears that he here takes πνλαίαν ταραχὴν, as an adjective with its substantive; but I do not see how he construes the sentence, or to what he makes περὶ τὴν πνλαίαν ταραχὴν relate, for it cannot be to πόλεμον ποιῆσαι, which would make the most ridiculous sense, or rather, nonsense. He seems to me, therefore, to have been mistaken, the construction being as follows: ποιῆσαι πόλεμον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοις, καὶ ταραχὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰνλαίαν, *to excite war against the Amphictyons, and disturbance in their assembly.* We thus see that the case is the same here as elsewhere, and that τὴν Ἰνλαίαν is an adjective used as a substantive, the word σύνοδον being understood.

139 2. τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν,] *Having obtained this dignity of the state.* The expression is exactly the same in our days, ἀξίωμα signifying *honorable appointment, dignity, office.*

4. ἐπέβαινεν] *He proceeded to accomplish what he had been hired for.* Περαινω from πέρας, *end*, as if it were, *he was reaching the end, &c.*

13. *προσκαλέσασθαι*] to summon.

15. *τίς οὖν ἐκλήτ.* — *ἀρχῆς;*] *Who then made the adjournment? From what tribunal or by what magistrate was the adjournment made?* because ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς is for τίνος ἄρχοντος or τίνου ἀρχὴν ἄρχων. This passage proves two things; first, that in ancient times no one could accuse another without having first summoned him; secondly, that to summon him, the authority of a magistrate was necessary. *Κλητεύειν* is the proper word for *to summon before a tribunal, to call upon a person to come forward.* *Κλήτωρ* or *κλητῆρ* was the name given to him who summoned another, says Ulpian. This he could do in two ways either *ex officio*, as sheriff, or as a witness on the part of the principal accuser. Hence in law cases *κλητῆρ* and *μάρτυρ* are sometimes equivalent terms. *Κλητῆρα ἢ μάρτυρα*, says the same scholiast, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καλοῦντα ὑπηρέτην. Sometimes a man was summoned by the accuser's laying hands on him and dragging him by force to the tribunal. Thus we read in Lucian, that the plaintiff said to his adversary, *ἔπον μοι μισρὲ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, follow me, you villain, to the tribunal,* to which the other answered *μὴ ἄγχου με, do not strangle me.*

23. *πόλεμος* — *ἐταράχθη,*] *war was excited, or kindled.* Some read *ἐπράχθη.*

27. *ἡγεμόνα ἦγον*] for *ἡγεμονίαν ἀνήγον, offered the command.*

3. *παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κ.*] *having set out as if going to* 140
Cirrhæa. The *ὡς* here expresses deceit, dissimulation.

4. *ἐξῳδῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ*] *having said a long adieu, literally for having got fairly rid of, or more simply, leaving.* This expression is very common in Demosthenes, as in his speech *against Midias*, *πολλὰ ἐξῳδῶσθαι εἰπὼν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, after having bid a long adieu to your laws and to you.*

6. *εὐθὺς*] After this word by some editors is added *ὡς τῷ εἰδον οἱ Θ.* But we must confess that all these additions render the style much less harmonious and flowing, and at the same time take from its force and spirit. As it is by frequent reading and declamation that I have determined my choice among various readings, or have made corrections of my own, I have been unwilling to adopt these additions, which have, indeed,

140 the authority of some manuscripts in their favor, but which are inferior to what we find in the old editions. My opinion is, that transcribers of limited minds have attempted to insert in the text what would naturally be understood, in making out the sense, and have thus introduced feebleness in the text, where there was formerly energy. The truth of this remark will easily be perceived by instituting a comparison.

8. *Νῦν δὲ τότε*] *Now, then.* This expression is remarkable inasmuch as *νῦν* which is commonly used for the present time, and signifies *now*, may also be used for the past time when joined with *τότε* *then*. Gail, however, says; “perhaps, for I dare not determine, we ought to say that on account of the idea of the past which precedes, the *νῦν δὲ* is here used *adversatively*, *ἐναντιωματικῶς*, and may be translated, *but in truth.*”

18. *τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων*,] After this word some add *καὶ τοῦ κοινῶ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων*, perhaps because it is in the following decree, l. 28. This does not seem to me a sufficient reason to authorize the addition; and we ought also to remark that the second decree is much more important than the first, which makes me believe that one was passed in a *συνέδριον* and the other in an *ἐκκλησία*. (See Notes, p. 43, l. 9.)

30. *βόσκηματα νέμονται*] Here is another expression, corrected, probably, because it differs from that l. 20; as if the Greek language were too poor to admit of variations. This expression is moreover similar to that in modern Greek, *βόσκουν ζῶα*, *they pasture cattle.*

141 2. *καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν*] Some critics omit the *καὶ* making the word *στρατηγὸν* relate, not to *τετρανματίκασι*, but to *προσβεῦσαι*. This is contrary to the common text, nor does it seem probable that the Amphictyons would have sent their own chief to the king of Macedonia.

7. *διότι*] for *ὅτι*. Wolfius.

26. *τοῖς δημοιουργοῖς*] *To the magistrates; τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἢ δημοαγογοῖς.* Wolfius.

28. *Ὀζόλαι*,] See Notes, p. 39, l. 20.

142 2. *συναγαῖτε*] Lambinus inserts *μοι* on his own authority. I do not think it necessary in the text which I have followed, as the *ἡμῖν*, l. 6. is sufficient for the sense.

6. Τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ.] *Those who shall have come to meet us with their whole strength, we will consult; those, on the other hand, who shall not have joined us, we will punish.* This passage in the text is entirely corrupted. It stands thus: Τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασιν πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα· τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν μὴ κειμένοις, ἐπιζημίους. It is impossible to make any sense out of these words. I have followed the correction of Scrimger which is a good one, and generally approved.

20. Ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα — τῶν φύντων] *For he who has planted the seed is the cause of the evils which spring from it.* (See Notes, p. 95, l. 28.) This figure has something great and noble, and has been imitated by Cicero, who says to Mark Antony (2 Phil.) “*As, therefore, the seed encloses the germ of trees and plants; thus you, the sole seed of this fatal war, are the cause of all the calamities which follow it.*”

23. πολὺ τι σκότος,] *Thick darkness conceals the truth from you.* The Greek expression is lively and energetic.

28. ἀκούσατε] It is also written ἀκούσετε and ἀκούσατε.

2. πρατιόντων] One manuscript has φρονούντων.

31. βουλῆς — γνώμη·] Understood ἀννέχθη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. R.

7. αὐτὸν] After this word is added κήρυκα καὶ, probably because it is found in the following decree, l. 23; but it has not perhaps been observed that in one the name of the herald is given, l. 28, and that in the other there are only the names of the ambassadors; which is a reason clearly against the addition.

16. Μουνυχιῶνος] *The month of June.* It was so called on account of the Μουνύχια a festival in honor of *Munychian* Diana, celebrated during this month. (See Notes, p. 125, l. 9.)

17. πολεμάρχου γνώμη·] *by the direction of the Polemarch.* This officer, when with the army, took precedence of the other generals, and acted as generalissimo. (See Notes, p. 11, l. 2.)

26. Καὶ γὰρ νῦν — μετρίων.] *For thus far it (ὁ δῆμος) has never thought it just to give assistance to any one.* Wolfius seems undecided whether οὐ κέκρικε relates to Philip, or to the Athenian people, and some translators prefer the former: but with the latter, the sense is much more natural and connected.

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145 7. ἐφ' ὑμῖν — αἴρεσιν,] *To submit their opinion, or judgment, or will, to yours.*

9. ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς] *changing your road, or abandoning your enterprise, to commence another; from ὑπὸ under, and στρέφω I turn, as if it were, turning back upon your steps.*

21. Πυνθάνομαι — παρακαλουμένοις.] *I hear, nevertheless, that the Athenians are doing every thing to excite you, wishing you to follow their exhortations.*

24. ὑμῶν κατερίγνωσκον,] *I formed an opinion against you. I blamed you. I condemned you.* We must here observe the relation between κατερίγνωσκον ὑμῶν, with the following ἐπιγνοῦς ὑμᾶς, as if it were, *at first I did not know you, but now having recognised you.*

146 6. Ἐλάτειαν] See Notes, p. 49, l. 1.

11. ἐς τῆς πρυτανείας,] ἐς is a correction of my own, instead of the common reading ὡς. As to the Prytanes, see Notes, p. 3, l. 3. As an allusion is here made to the report of the taking of Elatea, which reached the Prytanes while they were at table, we must here call to mind that these magistrates were entitled to take their meals at the Prytaneum or state-house, the expense of which was defrayed by a special fund. These meals, however, were very simple and frugal, either in order that they might by their example recommend temperance to their fellow citizens, or that in case of any sudden emergency, they might be able to take, without delay, all necessary measures.

28. τῆς κοινῆς] Reiske prefers τῆ κοινῇ τῆς πατριδος φωνῆ.

147 5. οἱ τριακόσιοι.] *The three hundred richest citizens were obliged to contribute much more largely than the others to the public treasury, but they likewise enjoyed much greater distinction.*

20. τῆν — τάξι] *The post, a military term which Demosthenes purposely employs in several parts of his speech, as if to show that though he might, as a warrior, have left his post at the battle of Chæronea, he had never abandoned it as a minister at the head of affairs.*

30. Ἐλατεία] After this word some critics add νῦν.

148 21. Τί οὖν φημι δεῖν;] It is also written Τί οὖν φημί; δεῖ π.

25. ὁ κίνδυνος.] After this word is sometimes added ἐσὶν ἡμῶν. 148

6. χροήσασθαι] In this verb, as well as in those which fol- 149
low, I have preferred the infinitive mood to the common χροή-
σεσθε — δεῖσθε — ἐπαγγείλασθε.

20. ἔκ, εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ.] After ἔκ, and each εἰδέ, with a comma, we must understand ἔστιν ὅτι, and the sense is: *it is not the fact, that I have said these things, without moving decrees concerning them; neither, that I have moved decrees concerning them, without taking the embassy upon me; neither, that I have taken the embassy upon me, without persuading the Thebans.* In this passage there is an instance of what is called in rhetoric *climax*, of great beauty and almost beyond imitation. Cicero, in his fourth book to Herennius, says that climax is a figure by which we ascend from one word to another, in such a manner that the sense grows stronger and stronger. As in this sentence: *What hope of liberty remains to us, if these audacious men can do what they will, if they dare what they can, if they do what they dare, and if what they do, does not excite your indignation.*

30. Βάταλον;] *Batalus*, a flute-player, famous for his debaucheries. His name became proverbial, and was applied to those who plunged into licentious and shameful pleasures. It was given to Demosthenes in his youth, on account of his voluptuous inclinations, and it is to this surname that Æschines alludes (p. 63, l. 8,) when he says: *And Aristides surnamed the just, a surname very different from that of Demosthenes.* See also the note on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, v. 1012.

31. Κρησφόντην,] *A Cresphontes, or Creon, or that Œnomaus.* These are the names of the characters in which Æschines played, while he was a comedian. As to the last he says, ἐπέτριψας, *thou hast crushed him*, because Æschines, when playing at Colyttus the part of Œnomaus, who pursues Pelops, very awkwardly fell down.

30. ιδίας,] It should be taken in the sense of *αὐτονόμους*. 150
For if translated as *their own*, it does not make good sense. It has been suspected that it might be καὶ οὐ φιλίας or καὶ οὐκ

150 ἰδίας, relating to the Athenians. Auger, however, translates it, *of their dependence, dependent on them.*

31. ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος] Transposed, instead of ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.

151 7. ἦρῳσι] See Notes, p. 4, l. 2.

154 6. ναύκληρον] This word signifies *the owner of a vessel*, whilst κυβερνήτης means *the pilot.*

9. τῶν σκευῶν,] By this word we are to understand the *whole rigging*; viz. masts, yards, sails, and in short, all that belongs to the equipping of a vessel.

18. τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης] These words are commonly found after Ἀτικῆς.

22. ἐνῆν] Instead of this word several editions have μέν. Reiske thus corrects the passage on his own authority: ἄρ' οὐ-
εσθε ἔτι νῦν ἂν στήναι.

25. ὧν γε] It is also written ἄγε, and Reiske, adopting this, also corrects, of himself, ἐς πείραν.

155 15. Ἀριστράτος] *Aristratus* and *Aristolaus* had undoubtedly taken advantage of the defeat at Chæronea to accuse, each in his own town, those of the Athenian party, who were the innocent cause of this disaster.

27. τὰ ῥήγμ., καὶ τὰ σπάσμ.,] *fractures and dislocations.* Demosthenes very ingeniously compares Æschines to the pains which, after a limb has been broken or sprained, are felt on the approach of any disease; as if he were an evil disposition inherent in the body of the state, and which shows itself in every disease which attacks it, that is, in every public calamity.

156 11. ἀκοντιῖ,] equivalent to ἀναιμωτιῖ, ἀνιδρωτιῖ.

15. εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα — περιέστη,] *If matters had come to the state in which they now are.*

157 3. κινδυνεύσασα] We commonly find after this word the comma which I have placed before it, where some critics place a καί· the sense is: *but the city has continually encountered danger, fighting for preeminence, for honor, and for glory.*

13. Κυρσίλον] *Cyrsilus* (called *Lycidas* by Herodotus, Book IX, § 5.), a senator who was stoned to death, for having advised his fellow citizens to listen to the propositions of Mardonius.

24. *θανάτης*] The old editions entirely omit this word, which 157 has been received upon the authority of some manuscripts; it is placed with the article *τοῦ*, after the word *ἀνάγκη*. I have transposed it, and left out the article.

12. *ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἐν Μαγαθῶνι*] With regard to this fine passage, 158 see Longinus *on the Sublime*, § XVI.

23. *γραμματοκίφων*,] for *γραμματεὺς*, because *οἱ γραμματεῖς προσκεκυφότες γράφουσι*. It is here taken in a bad sense, and signifies a *miserable scribe*.

30. *τοῦ*] This word is added by several editors. I have retained it, but have transposed *τούτων*, for the sake of euphony. Other editions have *τὸ τοῦ τούτων*.

6. *ἀποβ. ἄξ.*] Transposed by me, instead of *ἄξιώματα ἀποβλέ- 159 ποντας*.

7. *τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τοῖ συμβόλῳ*,] *Taking the staff and the symbol*. The first of these words is in allusion to the staff which the judges held in their hands in going to the tribunal. The second was a sort of *tablet*, *πινακίδιον*, where was written the name of the judge and of the tribunal. See the Scholiast on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, v. 277.

27. *ἐξίτε*,] *You were going out*. Here is again one of those 160 words which show what an advantage it would be, if Greek scholars would pronounce the language as do the Greeks themselves. This word is commonly written *ἐξῆτε*, as if it were the imperfect of the verb *εἶμι*, *I am*. The critics saw the necessity of correcting it, and made it *ἐξήειτε*, which *Buttmann's Grammar* places as an imperfect of the verb *εἶμι*, *I go*, but which is in fact the pluperfect middle, the imperfect of this verb being *ἴτε*, as may be seen in the *Grammar of Lascaris*. Thus we see that so simple a thing, which has given some trouble to learned commentators, is merely a fault in the orthography which would have been easily perceived if they had remembered that *η* and *ι* are pronounced, and ever have been pronounced, in exactly the same manner.

14. *τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ π. καὶ τὴν χ.*] *In the two battles which you fought; 161 one near the river, the other during the winter*. In alluding to these two battles, Demosthenes was sufficiently well understood

161 by his hearers, but did not explain himself clearly enough for posterity.

162 5. αὐτοῖς] Some correct the passage by αὐτούς.

9. ὅτι] Omitted by some editors; and the word πλάνοι is also written πλάνη· which evidently was caused by the similar pronunciation of οι and η.

14. Καλλίστρατος] *Callistratus*, an Athenian orator, whose eloquent speech on the town of Oropus caused Demosthenes to take the resolution of devoting himself to eloquence. As to *Aristophon*, *Cephalus*, *Thrasylbulus*, see Notes, p. 67, l. 20, 22, and p. 68, l. 5.

26. προνοία] Corrected on my own authority, instead of the common πρόνοιαν, which Reiske also on his own authority alters to προνοίας.

163 17. Αριστόνικος,] See Notes, p. 116, l. 14.

28. ἀνεκρίνετο] Some correct it, ἄν ἐκρίνετο, and ἐφ', which last I have adopted instead of the common ἀφ'.

164 4. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας,] This reading is preferable, as being more forcible than ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀληθείας, or even than the addition of τῆς, and the omission of οὔσης.

165 23. πάνυ — ὀρᾶς;] *For do you not see it is for that?* ironically.

166 1. ἐσυκοφάντεϊς.] This verb as well as the preceding ἐδείκνυες, is frequently altered to the third person, on account of ὁ βουλόμενος, κτλ. preceding page, l. 20. I have said so much in former notes, about these apparent irregularities, which ought to be regarded as so many beauties and elegances of style, that it is sufficient merely to mention the correction.

8. προεξελεγμένα·] from προεκλέγειν, and not προεξηλεγμένα, from προεξελέγγειν, which has been very properly corrected. This was undoubtedly another of those mistakes in orthography, arising from the similar pronunciation of ει and η.

167 1. ἔγωγ'] I have added γ' on my own authority.

9. ἴσων] Some critics write νήσων, but what follows makes me prefer ἴσων.

12. διακοσίας] It was at the battle of Salamis that the Athenians had two hundred vessels, the rest of the Greeks furnishing only one hundred.

168 11. κίναδος] See Notes, p. 58, l. 5.

12. αὐτοτραγικὸς πῖθνος,] *A mere tragic ape.* It appears that 168 Demosthenes by this wished it to be understood, that Æschines did not succeed upon the stage, and that instead of being an actor himself, he aped the manner of others.

13. ἀροραῖος Οἰνόμαος,] *Rustic Enomaus.* He gives him this appellation, either because he played this character in the country, or alluding to his awkward fall. (See Notes, p. 149, l. 31.)

13. παράσημος ῥήτωρ.] *An orator of a false stamp, of bad coinage; meaning an obscure orator.* Τῷ πονηρῷ κόμματος ὄν. W.

13. πολιτικά] I really do not see why Reiske should be so de- 169 sirsous of substituting for this word συνήλικα. The sense is far from being so good as that given by πολιτικά. *Necessary vices, and inseparable from the nature of the government in all republics.*

7. τῆς πόλεως] After this word some add βουλευόμενος. 170

11. σιτώνην] I have placed this word before αἰροούμενος, and ὁ δῆμος, before ἐχειροτόνησε · the reverse being common.

17. ἐκάστην] After this word Reiske adds σχεδόν τι, the first upon authority, the second of himself.

18. Σωσικλέους,]^t *Sosicles, Philocrates, Diondas, Melanus.* History does not explain to us the causes or the effects of the implacable hatred and malicious attempts of these four men against Demosthenes. As to Philocrates, see p. 29.

25. ἐγνωκότων] instead of the common γρόντων. We also find καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ εὐορκα γρόντων δικαστῶν.

19. ἤγοῦμαι.] After this word some add καὶ ἀπαίδευτον. 171

6. τὸ δέ] It is also written τῷ δέ. 172

20. νεβρίζων,] from νεβρίς, *buckskin*, and not νεριζῶν, from 173 νεῦρον, *nerve*, as it is found in all the old editions. This fault arose from the similar pronunciation of εἰβ and εν; other faults from a similar cause have been noticed above. See my *Modern Greek Grammar, Chapter on Pronunciation.*

21. ἀπομάττων] for ἀποψῶν, *in rubbing*, or upon farther search, for περιπλάττων, *covering, besmearing*, as a ceremony practised in commemoration of the adventure of Bacchus, who was plastered over with gypsum by the Titans, to prevent their being recognised by him.

23. Ἐφυγον, — ἄμεινον·] *I fled the evil, and found the better.* These were solemn words pronounced at the celebration of the

173 ceremonies here mentioned, in allusion to the ancient manner of living in Attica, when the inhabitants fed upon acorns, and to their modern delicacies which resulted from their progress in civilization.

27. *Θιάσους*] from *θεῖα*, and *ᾄσαι*, to sing divine things, and it is used to signify the crowds which met to celebrate the festivals of *Bacchus*.

28. *μαράθρω* — *λένκη*,] *Crowned with fennel and white poplar.*

29. *τὸς παρείας*] *Ὁ παρείας*, a sort of serpent called so, *παρὰ τὸ ἐπῆρθαι τὸς παρείας*, from having swollen cheeks. It is said not to bite, or its bite to be harmless. It was used in the ceremonies of *Bacchus*, to excite the wonder of the people.

30. *Εὐοῖ Σαβοῖ*,] The first of these words is composed of *εὖ*, well, and *οῖ*, to him. The second is a Phrygian word, and means the priests of *Bacchus*. *Οἱ μὲν Σαβοὺς λέγουσι τοὺς τελουμένους τῷ Σαθαζῖρω, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τῷ Διονύσῳ.* Harpocr.

31. *τῆς Ἄττης*,] Two epithets applied to *Bacchus*. The first signifying rainy, *ὅτι ὕσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτῆ· because at his birth Jupiter watered the earth with rain.* With regard to the second there are various opinions; that which *Tourel* prefers is, that it comes from *ἄτη*, injury, ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τῶν Τιτάνων εἰς αὐτὸν ἄτης καὶ φθορᾶς· might it not, however, be derived from *ἄττω*, I leap, as if making his adorers leap?

174 1. *κιττοφ.*, *λικνοφ.*,] *Ivy-bearer*, *van-bearer*, words which remind us that the ivy and the van were sacred to *Bacchus*.

3. *ἐνθρυπτα καὶ σρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα*] Three different kinds of pastry. The first comes from *ἐνθρύπτω*, I crumb, because it was made εἰς σκάφην ἄρτους διαθρύψαντες. The second, from *στρέφω*, I turn, and we understand ἄρτους· as we understand ἄλφια, at the word *νεήλατα*, which comes from *νέος*, new, ἀλέω I grind, as if we said, cakes of meal newly ground.

8. *τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις*.] *Τοῖς ἐλάττωσι τῶν ἀρχόντων.* Wolfius.

12. *βαρυστόνοις*] *Pathetic*, from *βαρὺς*, heavy, and *σένω*, I sigh.

15. *ελαίας*] *Reiske* writes *ελάας*, and makes a distinction between *ελαία*, olive tree, and *ελάα*, olive. But even if *ελάα* does signify olive, it does not prevent *ελαία* from having the meaning both of olive and olive tree, since it is still used in this double

acceptation among us. I therefore retain *ἐλαίας*, for which there 174
are also all the best authorities.

11. Ἐξέπ. — ἐσύριπτον.] *You were falling* (see Notes, p. 149, 175
l. 31,) and *I was hissing*. We see by this passage that the prac-
tice of hissing at public representations, is not of modern origin.

21. λειψο.] *The testimony of the public offices which I have held.*

23. ἐλυμαίνου.] It is also written ἐλυμήνω. Of the two lines
here quoted, the first is from the *Hecuba of Euripides*; the
second, from the *Antigone of Sophocles*. It is probable that
they are not taken indiscriminately from among the parts play-
ed by Æschines, as a comedian, but that Demosthenes singled
them out with some malice.

2. ἐγώ.] Reis. adds this word, which gives more clearness. 176

25. νομίμοις] R. prefers νόμοις, and corrects διωρικέναι. 177

26. διακείμενον] It is also written διακείμενα. 178

4. ἔχθρας, καὶ φ.,] Reiske corrects ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, φ., without 179
the slightest authority, and merely for the pleasure of correct-
ing; for if the text thus altered, is good, unaltered, it is no less
so. This is not an uncommon fault in this great Hellenist
and critic, who has made magnificent discoveries in his philo-
logical researches, but who frequently errs, through his fond-
ness for adding.

18. αὐτῆς] understood ἀγρύγας. *He is not held by the same
anchor as the people; that is, he does not look to the same things
as the people for his safety.*

22. πρεσβευτῆς] *You were going as ambassador.* After the
battle of Chæronea, the Athenians fearing the power and the
anger of the conqueror, sent him an embassy to beg for peace.
It is probable that they sent those whom they knew to be his
friends, and Æschines was of the number.

28. καταρᾶται] After this word some add καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν.

30. τὸ] I have added this word, and have put in the infin-
itive the words which are commonly written φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει.
Some editions have ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα καὶ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει, and oth-
ers εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἂ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει.

7. ἔνεκα] commonly put after ἰδίας, but I have transposed it. 180

15. ἐπὶ τῷ] A transposition, likewise on my own authority;
the text is commonly ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ σύμφ. διαφθείρειν.

180 16. ἀντοῖς] Reiske substitutes for this word ἀντὸς σαυτοῦ, the first on authority, the second, of his own accord.

25. Δημάδην,] *Demades*, a celebrated Athenian orator, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Chæronea. His vivacity and his frankness having gained him the friendship of Philip, he took advantage of it to engage him to make peace with the Athenians. He met with a most miserable end. Cassander, son of Antipater, having intercepted a secret letter written against his father, slew the son of Demades before his eyes, and killed the unhappy man himself, upon the lifeless body of his son.

181 3. εὐθηνούντων] *While things were prosperous*. It is also written εὐθηνέντων.

14. ἐλθόντας] It is also written ἐλθόντα and ὑποκρινόμενον.

22. τὸ περιδειπνον] *The funeral banquet*. This was considered as a religious ceremony, instituted to honor the memory of those whose loss was mourned, and to recall to the minds of the guests the remembrance of death. This custom still remains in Greece, as common as formerly.

182 4. ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος,] Understood μετὰ, and it signifies *fighting with vigor and resolution*. The word λήματος is substituted for δειματος which is not so good. In adopting the latter, we should understand ἐνεκα, and make this sense, *fighting to preserve their warlike virtue, and to inspire terror in their enemies*.

11. ἔπορον.] *nothing can escape fate*. This word is also written ἔπορον with οἱ θεοὶ understood. Reiske, of his own accord, corrects by putting ἔτερον, and construes thus: *ὅκ ἔξῃσιν ἔτερόν τι φυγεῖν τὴν μοῖραν*.

26. τοῖς γεγ.] understood ἐπὶ, which some insert in the text.

184 12. προπεπωκότες,] *Having drunk, in a health to Philip, the destruction of Grecian liberty*; figuratively, for *having sold or betrayed the public liberty to Philip*.

185 14. καὶ ἵππες,] We commonly find καὶ πολλὰς ἵππες, and Reiske encloses the word πολλὰς. But placing the word after, as I have done, the sense is so much more natural and simple, that it must have been placed before by the mistake of some transcriber.

186 5. Πέρινθον,] Instead of this word we find Εὐβοίαν, which many learned men consider as corrupt, and which Reiske

writes between brackets. It is conjectured that the proper 186
word is that which I have here written, although it is not sup-
ported by the authority of manuscripts. What Gail says in
a note in favor of *Εὐβοϊαν*, does not appear to me convincing,
and what is said by Demosthenes, p. 185, l. 27, *Εὐβοϊαν προ-*
βαλέσθαι, is a reason for not repeating the word here.

15. *δαίμονός τινος*] See Notes, p. 40. l. 8.

4. *ἀγαθοῖς*] a word added upon authority. 187

9. *ἀποσάντα*] preferable to the common *οὐκ ἀποστάντα*.

14. *βασκαίνειν*] Before this word some add *προελόμενον*. 188

19. *εἶ;*] It is also written *γέγονας*.

26. *εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν*] We might translate this by, *to aspire*
after honorable places, or more at length, *wealth accumulated*
to enable him to fill with honor those offices which involve great
expenses.

9. *τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης*] *tragedian Theocrines*; who at first wrote 189
pieces for the theatre; but having soon left this employment for
that of accuser, or rather calumniator, his name became a
proverb, and a *Theocrines* was equivalent to a *calumniator*.

2. *οἱ διασύροντες*] Reiske prefers *οἱ διέσυρον μὲν*. 190

11. *Φιλάμμων*, — *Γλαύκου*] See Notes, p. 65, l. 27, 28.

16. *ὄρα με*] *compare me*. *Ὄρα*, *to see*, is here synonymous
with *παραβάλλειν*, *συγκρίνειν*, *to compare*.

28. *Μὴ δῆτ'*] Demosthenes terminates his speech as he be- 191
gan it, by invoking the Gods with a confidence which nothing
but a good conscience can give. There can be nothing more
touching or more pathetic than this whole peroration. We
may say that it is in every point according to the rules which
rhetoricians give us, or rather that rhetoricians have drawn
their rules from this masterpiece of eloquence.

THE END.

ERRATA.

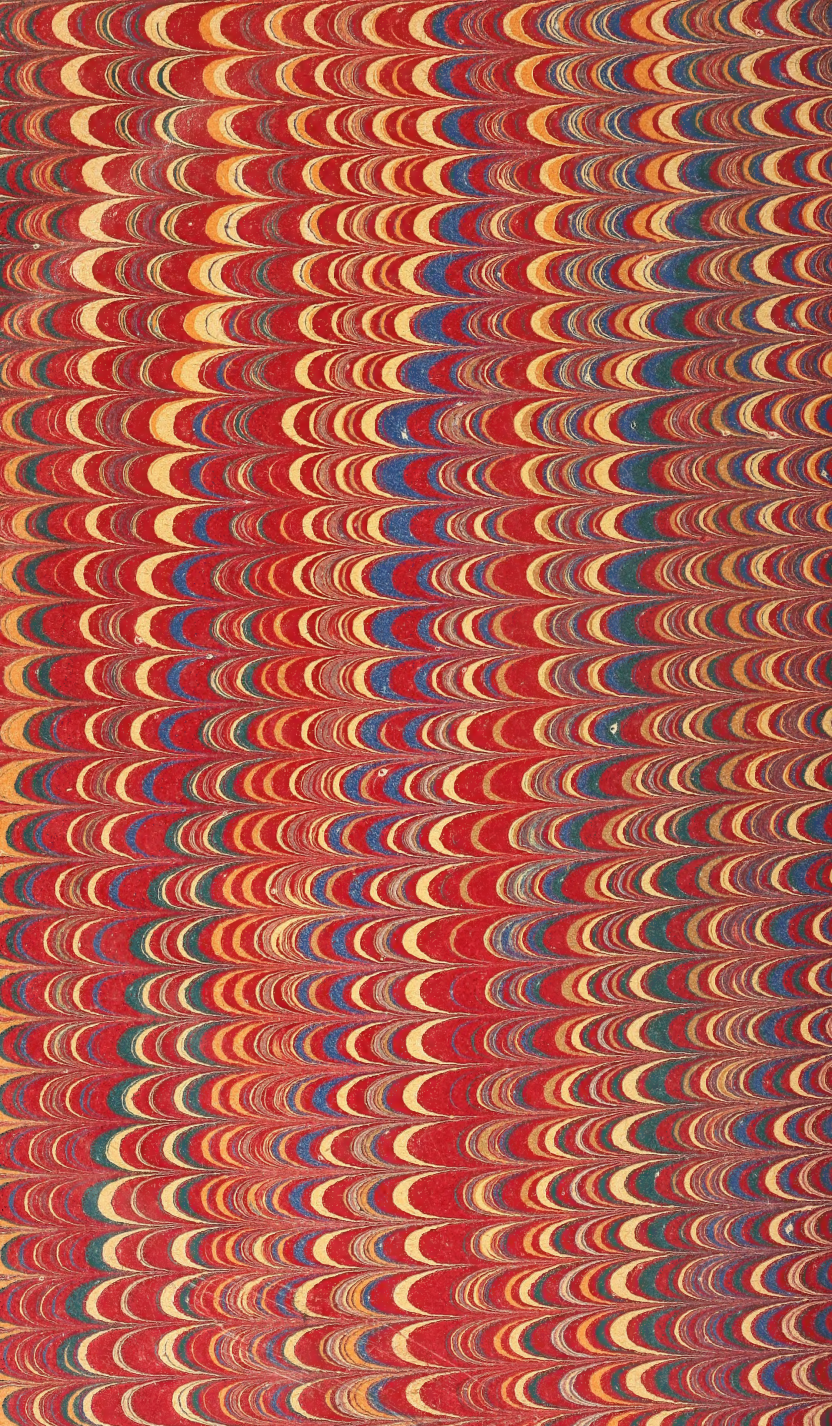
The two following, it is believed, are all that exist in the text :

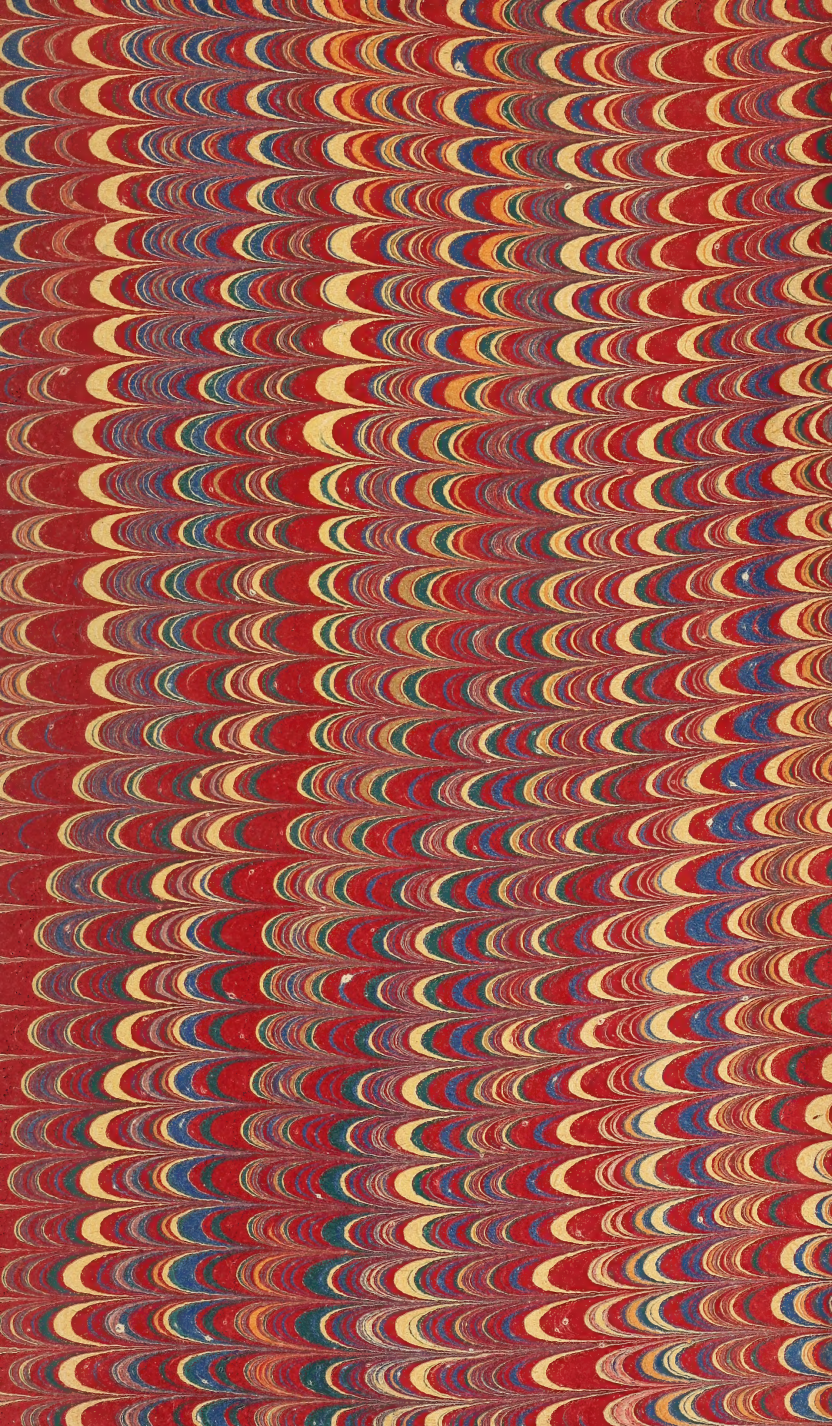
Page 43, line 23, for *ὕμῶν*, read *ἡμῶν*

“ 144, “ 16, “ *Μουνηχιῶνος*, “ *Μουνηχιῶνος*

In the notes, the following is the only one affecting the sense :

Page 267, line 34, for to Demomeles, read to Demosthenes





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